

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

Britain charts its course

Two important developments — introduction of Britain's new budget and the Labour Party's recent alliance with the Liberals to obtain voting support in the House of Commons — make this an appropriate moment to assess where Britain stands today.

First, the budget. It will provide a welcome lowering of income taxes for hard-pressed Britons. But it has made the full reduction contingent upon continued trade union and labor cooperation to hold down wage increases, thus offering workers an incentive. It has kept within the guidelines imposed by the International Monetary Fund when that organization lent Britain nearly \$4 billion last January.

So, taken as a whole, this budget has a fair chance of attaining its basic aims: putting a brake on inflation and improving industrial output to some extent. These are tremendous objectives, of course, easier to mention than achieve, yet necessary nonetheless.

But the financial-economic problem needs to be viewed in conjunction with the political situation, too. For some of the socialist programs that are at the heart of the Labour Party's philosophy have not been successful, as far as the welfare of the nation as a whole is concerned. For example, public ownership of industries can be seriously faulted for inefficiency. This has led to lessening of the overseas sales Britain desperately needs to stay afloat financially. High inflation (still double-digit), high unemployment, and low productivity also constitute a constant pressure for changes and improvements that have not been forthcoming sufficiently fast.

This naturally has had a political impact. Prime Minister Callaghan's Labour Party is still regarded as probably better equipped to deal with the powerful trade unions and the party's own radical, demanding left wing. But

this, and the fact that the party has managed to control its radicals fairly well in recent months as far as wage restraint is concerned, has not prevented Labour from gradually losing support in the Commons and public opinion polls. Thus the urgency of the Callaghan decision to turn to the Liberals to repair his battered Commons support and enable Labour to survive in power.

Economically, moreover, the government has been caught in a vise between the urgent necessity of cutting public spending and reducing inflation on the one hand and workers' demands for more spending and wage increases to counteract the bite of inflation on the other. Britain obviously needs another year of wage restraints, accompanied by firm measures to revitalize industry and the economy. Labour's marriage of convenience with the Liberals may make these possible to achieve — and at least makes it unlikely that any legislation proposed by the political center will be passed for the time being. This moderating effect should be salutary.

For the Conservatives, who seemed for a time to have Labour backed into a corner, the need now is to convince more Britons they have a better program, that it is practical, and that the Tories under Mrs. Thatcher have the ability and determination to carry it out. That is a large order. It means making their free enterprise system seem preferable to a majority of voters at a time when growing state management and ownership have become a familiar way of operating in Britain.

Thus both major parties now have their work cut out. Britain's need is to do more than just stave off the next political or financial crisis. It ought to be moving into a new era where problems are confronted realistically by both left and right — and where better solutions are devised.



India's new leader

The Carter administration is discreetly play-ing down Cuba's involvement in Africa as it seeks to improve the United States' ties with its island neighbor. Washington diplomats insist they have no hard evidence of Cuban presence in troubled Zaire, for instance. President Carter, for his part, by lifting restrictions on travel to Cuba and the ban on the spending of dollars by U.S. visitors there, has gone an extra mile in signaling Fidel Castro that he places high importance on ending the hostility of the past 18 years.

His strategy, if we understand it correctly, makes sense. Until the United States establishes political links and business and trade ties with Cuba — thereby giving the Cubans a stake in "détente" — it has little if any leverage with which to try to influence Cuban foreign policy. The Africa connection is worrisome. There may be no "hard" evidence of a Cuban presence in Zaire, but U.S. intelligence sources seem certain that Cubans now stationed in Angola have helped train the invading forces. If the Cubans, backed with Soviet arms, choose to play an activist role in subverting or des-

tabilizing recognized governments and fostering radical movements on the continent of Africa, this is contrary to international law and inimical to both African and Western interests there.

Angola is not the only country where Cuban forces are helping Marxist-oriented governments. There are some 1,000 Cuban military advisers and combat personnel in the Congo, for example. Another 200 to 400 Cubans in Somalia. There are also smatterings of Cuban instructors in Mozambique (training Rhodesian guerrillas). Dr. Castro is plainly expanding the scope of Cuba's "missionary activity" in Africa, as his current visit there visibly demonstrates.

We are not suggesting that Cuba does not have a right to play a role in Africa as much as anyone. But where the Cubans are using their and Soviet resources to foment civil war, undermine legitimate governments, and frustrate diplomatic efforts toward peaceful change in white-ruled nations, the West has reason to be concerned.

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Cheers for the Common Market

Good news is often passed over lightly. But the world ought to be more aware of the good news that Europe's Common Market has reached its 20th anniversary in basically sturdy shape. The European Community, as it is called, remains one of the most innovative and significant experiments in international cooperation.

To be sure, the community has not achieved the shaming hopes invested in it two decades ago — to become a United States of Europe. Today it counts many disappointments. Instead of becoming more unified, the European nations appear to be dividing along north-south lines, each with a different set of political and economic problems. West Germany is surging ahead economically, for instance, while Italy is beset with financial troubles. New challenges now confront the market as Portugal and Greece (and later Spain and Turkey) knock at the door for admission, arousing fears that the

economic gap will be widened even more. Not least of all, the political unity of the nine is still an elusive, far-off goal.

But no worthy endeavor is without its temporary setbacks and, taken in historical perspective, the accomplishments of the community are no less than extraordinary. By reducing trade barriers and linking their resources, the Europeans have become one of the strongest economic powers in the world and vastly improved their standard of living. Despite their divisions and squabbles, they persist in trying to work together to solve such problems as unemployment and in aiding third-world countries. They have brought Britain into the continental fold and helped sustain Portugal's fragile democracy. They are moving, however reluctantly, toward a directly elected European Parliament.

Most important of all, a mood of stability and peaceableness has taken root in Europe. The

Europeans have a leader of proven ability and toughness. A disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, he spent many years in jail for civil disobedience. He has been a stern critic of Mrs. Gandhi down through the years and most recently weathered 10 months in detention without trial, emerging to campaign vigorously despite his age. In his many government posts he won a reputation as a tough and efficient administrator, although he did not always win popular support for his programs.

Whether Mr. Desai can unify the many strands within his party remains to be seen. The opposition has never worked together to

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, April 11, 1977

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In southern Africa: Britain's man sees for himself

By Takashi Oku
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

London
Britain may convene a constitutional conference on Rhodesia even before agreement is reached on an interim government for the territory that whites know as Rhodesia and blacks as Zimbabwe.

This is one of the ideas Dr. David Owen, British Foreign Secretary, is carrying with him on his first get-acquainted tour of southern Africa this weekend.

A Foreign Office spokesman said that Dr. Owen was "not taking any cut-and-dried blueprint" but felt that "a fresh approach should produce new ideas."

Two African leaders, Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Joshua Nkomo, are in London and were expected to see Dr. Owen before his departure.

Bishop Muzorewa — who, of the four black leaders involved in the recent unsuccessful Geneva talks with Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, is the only one still based in Rhodesia — has called for Britain to hold a referendum to determine who should be the future independent states leader.

"We would like Britain to stop this business of being wishy-washy over Zimbabwe," the diminutive bishop said. "Britain should stop being like a jellyfish, with no backbone."

Prime Minister Ian Smith has hinted that he sees Bishop Muzorewa as a moderate black with whom he could do business. But the bishop has powerful rivals, all of whom claim to have the support of black guerrillas fighting inside Rhodesia.

*Please turn to Page 14

Americans play Cubans and both sides win

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Havana
There, side by side, were the Cuban and U.S. flags.

Then, exactly at 8:30 p.m., April 5, the first strains of "The Star-Spangled Banner" came over the public-address system of Havana's sports coliseum.

It was a moment of history. For the first time in the memory of many of the 15,000 people crowding into the coliseum, the U.S. flag was flying in Havana and the U.S. national anthem was being played here.

Later Sen. George McGovern (D) of South Dakota would call it "a very moving experience" and wish the people at home could have heard this anthem played in Cuba.

"It was like it used to be," a Cuban friend of this reporter commented later. "I had a tear in my eye."

Some of those present must have thought back over the past 17 years of hostility and antagonism between Cuba and the U.S. as the two flags were held aloft and the anthem was played.

The U.S. and Cuba broke relations Jan. 3, 1961.

The occasion was the first of two basketball games between Cuba's national team and a hybrid U.S. team representing the University of South Dakota and South Dakota State University.

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Back from the brink on arms Brezhnev softens his 'no'; U.S. anti-détente crusader makes conciliatory noises, but . . .

By Joseph C. Harsch

Noteworthy among world events of the past week has been the speed with which two highly influential people have pulled themselves back from the brink of "anti-détente."

Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow and Henry (Scoop) Jackson of the United States Senate are back on "safe" ground. Mr. Brezhnev, after saying a hard "no" March 30 to U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and the Carter formula for a SALT II

agreement, swung around on April 5 with the discovery that, after all, "a reasonable accommodation" is still possible.

And on the same day that Mr. Brezhnev pulled himself back, Senator Jackson — who had become America's loudest and most influential crusader against "détente" — was urging President Carter to "cool" his public pronouncements about human rights and criticizing Mr. Carter for too much "openness" in negotiation.

Between the Brezhnev hard "no" of March 30 and the Brezhnev-Jackson soft

tones of April 5, something unusual happened. An almost forgotten anxiety was suddenly, chillingly, revived by that hard "no." What would the world be like without any détente in it?

Probably in the United States, probably in the Soviet Union as well (but it would not show up in a censored press), people remembered what it was like before détente, when the gnawing fear of nuclear weapons was always present and just below the surface.

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... Kremlin beats drum in Africa and Middle East

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
The Soviet Union is adopting a tougher line toward U.S. policies in the Middle East and in Africa, raising the prospect of harder days ahead for President Carter's diplomacy.

Some Western analysts here say the new toughness might well be linked to Soviet anger with Mr. Carter over the stalemate in strategic arms talks. This opens up the issue of how much Soviet displeasure on strategic arms — the central issue in détente, as the Soviets see it — might spill over into other areas.

But Western analysts see other reasons behind the new Soviet approaches. They include the visit of Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat to Washington and new pressure on the Palestinians in Lebanon. Also the Soviets are eager to capitalize on the momentum of Chief of State Nikolai V. Podgorny's just-ended tour of southern Africa as Britain plans a new diplomatic foray to that region.

Signs of the tougher Soviet policy are:

• In the Mideast the Kremlin has begun criticizing Mr. Carter openly on the Palestinian issue. Analysts worry about the implications for the long-stalled Geneva peace conference and for the U.S.-Soviet talks on the Mideast scheduled for Geneva next month. (Moscow and Washington are co-chairmen of the Geneva peace conference.)

• Long and contentious talks were timed to coincide with the arrival in Moscow of Palestine Liberation Organization head Yasser Arafat. Mr. Arafat's visit began April 4 — just as Egyptian President Sadat was meeting with Mr. Carter in the White House halfway across the globe.

• Cuba's Fidel Castro and Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev opened talks on Africa here April 5 as two opposing Rhodesian nationalists (Joshua Nkomo and Bishop Abel Muzorewa) were arriving in London, and as the British Foreign Secretary, Dr. David Owen, prepared to launch his own diplomatic effort in southern Africa. Dr. Castro's visit came as Zaire broke off diplomatic ties with Cuba because of reported "proof" of Cuban involvement in the invasion of Zaire by exiles based in Angola.

The official news agency Tass had attacked Washington "for 'pouncing' on the 'internal conflict' in Zaire." Washington "is a pretext for intervention," Washington was simply trying to protect its investments there, Tass said.

*Please turn to Page 14



To Moscow: PLO's Arafat . . .



... and Rhodesia's Muzorewa



... and Cuba's Fidel Castro

Highlights



SEAL HUNT. A Monitor correspondent was flown out to an ice floe of Newfoundland to get a first-hand view of what really happens during the annual seal slaughter. Page 20

WORLD PEACE. When the Kremlin said no to Washington's arms plan it loosed a flood of speculation. An editorial sets out the Monitor's view. Page 32

GUNS FOR HIRE. Evidence suggests that once again British and American mercenaries are being recruited to fight in Africa. Page 9

RUSSIANS WHO DISAGREE. In his report on Soviet dissidents, Monitor reporter David Willis gives a vivid picture of what life is like for men living under the shadow of arrest by secret police. Page 16

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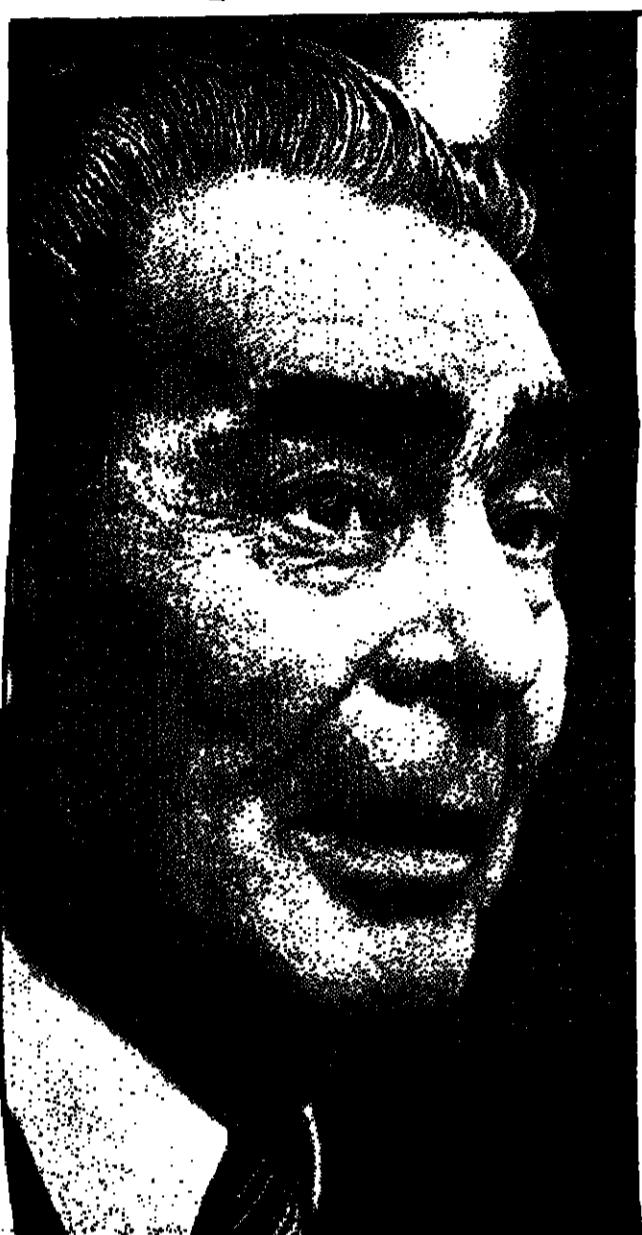
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Europe

Sven Simon
Brezhnev: refurbishing a global policy

Kremlin takes the offensive

Soviet strategies worldwide show a renewed hardness

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

The Kremlin's stream of hard words to President Carter on strategic arms is part of a general swing onto the offensive by Soviet global policy in this 60th anniversary year of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution.

• The new Soviet mood was dramatized at Moscow's VIP Vnukovo airport April 4 when the entire top Kremlin leadership turned out to welcome Cuba's Fidel Castro for an "unofficial" visit. In the receiving line was Chief of State Nikolai Podgorny, who returned only hours before from the same continent Mr. Castro has been touring — Africa.

The two were expected to compare notes here on what appears to have been a joint Soviet-Cuban foray across Africa to try to mediate the Ethiopian-Somali dispute on the Horn of Africa and pick up more support among black African states to the south.

• Almost unnoticed in the headlines surrounding the March 28-30 strategic arms talks with the United States, Moscow revived the bitterly critical tone toward China it had dropped after the passing of Mao Tse-tung. Western analysts say this marks a defeat for those older generals and civilians who had urged a low profile to encourage Peking to turn to Moscow for arms and economic help as it did 30 years ago.

• Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev's veiled outline of new Soviet plans for a Mideast settlement continues to draw attention. This is so in spite of the fact that there is no sign of any softening of the Soviet stand that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) must be represented at a reconvened Geneva conference.

Poor start for year

The 60th anniversary is being celebrated with full trumpet by Soviet newspapers, radio, TV, and magazines. It has great ideological importance for the Soviets, as they strive to underscore their self-proclaimed status as leader of communism worldwide.

But the year started badly. Soviet influence was suffering

from U.S. initiatives in Africa and the Mideast. Protests were rising in Eastern Europe. A new American President was openly supporting dissidents such as Dr. Andrei D. Sakharov and Vladimir Bukovsky. The Soviet economy had large and well-publicized shortcomings.

So Moscow appears to be trying hard to project a different image these days.

On strategic arms the official news agency Tass repeated April 4 some of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko's blunt criticisms three days before.

Commentator Yuri Kornilov stressed that Washington was to blame for the impasse. He displayed a degree of piety that Washington had failed to mention a string of previous Soviet disarmament proposals.

He talked of frantic propaganda in the U.S. on human rights and Soviet military readiness. But he ended by leaving the door open to future talks — provided Washington changed its tune.

Role of dissidents

The crucial role of dissidents here as a potential catalyst for more tension was emphasized April 4 with the reported arrest of another activist, young medical orderly Alexander Podrabinik, who had been under heavy KGB (secret police) surveillance.

On Africa, Mr. Podgorny's trip is being portrayed here as a successful way of showing that Moscow is the natural of emerging states.

Moscow seeks no bases, no privileges, it is said. The 30-year friendship treaty with Mozambique, which matches similar treaties with Angola on the opposite side of the continent and with Somalia to the north, calls for consultation in times of emergency, Soviet ideological training of Mozambique cadres, and military ties. It also pledges respect for Mozambique's independence.

On China the clue to the newly critical Soviet line came in an article in *Izvestia*, the government newspaper, March 30. Anatoly Krassikov wrote that the new leaders have inherited the style of Mao's widow Chiang Ching. Not a single day passes without fresh anti-Soviet outbursts by the Peiping press, he said.

Soviet comment on U.S. bases falls on Greek ears

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Cassandra, Greece

The Soviet Union's warning to United States Secretary of State Cyrus Vance during the Moscow talks about forward U.S. nuclear weapons bases in Europe was quietly noted by Greece's leaders. These leaders have still not

finalized a draft defense accord initiated with the U.S. more than a year ago.

Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis and his aides, mapping Greece's national policies at a conference of Mr. Caramanlis's ruling New Democracy Party here April 1 to 4, stressed Greek military preparedness, difficult relations with Turkey, and improving ties with Greece's communist neighbors in the Balkans.

Tass twists Carter's words

By Paul Wohl
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

President Carter's denunciation of the Soviet Union for denying its citizens the right to move freely both within their own country and across its borders must have goaded the Soviets.

That is probably the reason why Tass, the Soviet news agency, apparently deliberately falsified one of the President's remarks at a press conference on Feb. 24. By adding a single word Tass, in a dispatch from Washington dated March 17 made it appear as if Americans too could not move freely in the United States.

Tass quoted Mr. Carter as saying: "We also are somewhat guilty by not giving our people the due right to move around in our country and by needlessly, in my opinion, restricting the right to travel into our country of people who do not agree with us in political matters."

This is what Mr. Carter actually said: "We are ourselves culpable in some ways for not giving people adequate rights to move around our country or restricting unnecessarily, in my opinion, visitation to this country by those who disagree with us in political matters."

By adding the word "our" before the word "people" the President's statement was made to indicate that Americans could not move around freely in the United States. The rest of the statement referred to restrictions on entry into the U.S. of certain categories of foreigners, especially Communists.

After misquoting the President, Tass added: "Despite this announcement everything in America remained unchanged."

Tass then went on to quote Newsday, which had remarked in this connection that "before criticizing other countries the United States should put its own house in order." This is in line with the present tendency of the Soviet media to quote any and all American and West European criticism of President Carter's human rights campaign.

Since the Tass dispatch quoted from a presidential press conference of Feb. 24, it apparently took its editors more than two weeks to find a presidential statement that could be turned into meaning something quite different by adding a single word which was not just "not."



Prime Minister Caramanlis

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Asia

China cracks open the gate to foreign trade

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong
China will modify the doctrine of self-reliance to build its economy with the help of foreign trade.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng has publicly signaled this intention, according to China watchers here in Hong Kong.

The signal came a fortnight ago after a two-hour meeting in Peking between Mr. Hua and a Japanese trade mission.

Analysts note that the new policy has been proclaimed in newspapers and documents gradually since the passing of Mao Tse-tung last September. But now has been underscored because Mr. Hua himself has chosen to voice it in a public situation.

This also emphasized the high priority China places on good economic relations with Japan. "Japan is China's major trade partner," noted one observer. "So that is the area where there is likely to be movement."

At the same time, analysts suggest the Chinese are interested in weaning Japan away from possible closer economic and political ties with the Soviet Union.

The special interest may be timed for maximum effect because the current talks between Japan and the Soviet Union on fishing rights in the Northern Pacific have run into obstacles. The Chinese also may hope that trade with Japan will help induce the latter to sign a China-Japanese friendship treaty with an "anti-hegemony" clause directed at the Soviet Union.

"It may be an attempt to influence us," said one Japanese analyst, "but maybe the method is good for us."

Mr. Hua's statement came after two days of negotiations between Chinese officials and the Japanese businessmen, who landed in Peking March 31.

The Japanese mission, headed by Toshio Doko, chairman of the powerful club of business leaders known as Keidanren, brought a

proposal for China to sell quantities of oil and coal in exchange for Japanese machinery.

As a result of the negotiations a five-year trade agreement was announced. According to its terms, Japan would buy from China 10 million tons of oil and 5 million tons of coal a year. The Japanese would send to China iron, building materials, coal-mining equipment, transportation goods, and equipment for chemical and electricity industries.

Analysts note that the new trade agreement reflects a general growth in China's expressed interest in foreign trade under the pragmatic leadership of Chairman Hua.

Chairman Hua told the Japanese delegation that China would continue the policy of self-reliance established by the late Mao Tse-tung. But he is reported to have added quickly, "It would be an error to say that means the exclusion of foreign countries. I have already established the policy of learning from the good experience of foreign countries and bringing in advanced technology and equipment."

Now the late Mr. Chou's approach to the matter appears once again in favor.

Japan's symbolic cherry blossoms

By Kent Calder and Toshiko Matsuura
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo

Once again, the cherry blossom is taking Japan by storm, just as it has for more than 1,000 years.

Few things are dearer to the Japanese people than these delicate blossoms, or sakura, particularly after a severe winter like the one just past. They are a favorite topic of poetry and song. Throughout the month of April radio and television stations and the newspapers chart the progress of the "blossom front" as it works its way northward across the country.

Perhaps surprisingly, the winter has not delayed the blossoms.

To Japanese eyes, the sakura has deep emotional significance. In a fleeting beauty of the blossoms — they last only about 10 days a year — the Japanese see many of the ideals and realities of their own lives. April 1 is the beginning of the fiscal year here, school, university, and employment ceremonies, all symbolically important in this group-oriented land, occur this month just as the cherry trees are in bloom.

A symbol

In later life many Japanese nostalgically identify cherry blossoms with their youthful school days or with the beginning of their careers.

The symbolism of the sakura also has deep roots in history. The sakura caught the imagination of Japan's samurai warriors, whose ideal was a noble but fleeting existence terminated by a glorious passing. They frequently wrote poems about the blossoms before going off to battle. World War II kamikaze pilots made the cherry blossom their symbol as well, and it was emblazoned on the caps and uniforms of Imperial Navy personnel. It also appeared on medals given to the families of military men who were lost in action.

The Japanese have developed elaborate ways of savoring the nostalgia of the sakura. One popular method is the blossom

viewing party, generally staged in a large public park. The participants, usually co-workers, classmates, or wartime comrades — and mostly men — place a carpet on the grass under the trees, take off their shoes, and sit down to enjoy favored songs.

Many people take special one-day trips to the countryside to picnic beneath the cherry blossoms. Others time their vacations to follow the sakura north across the country. Still others retire to specially built pavilions to watch the blossoms by moonlight.

Many varieties

There are roughly 30 natural varieties — and hundreds of hybrid varieties — of sakura, and most people can distinguish several basic types.

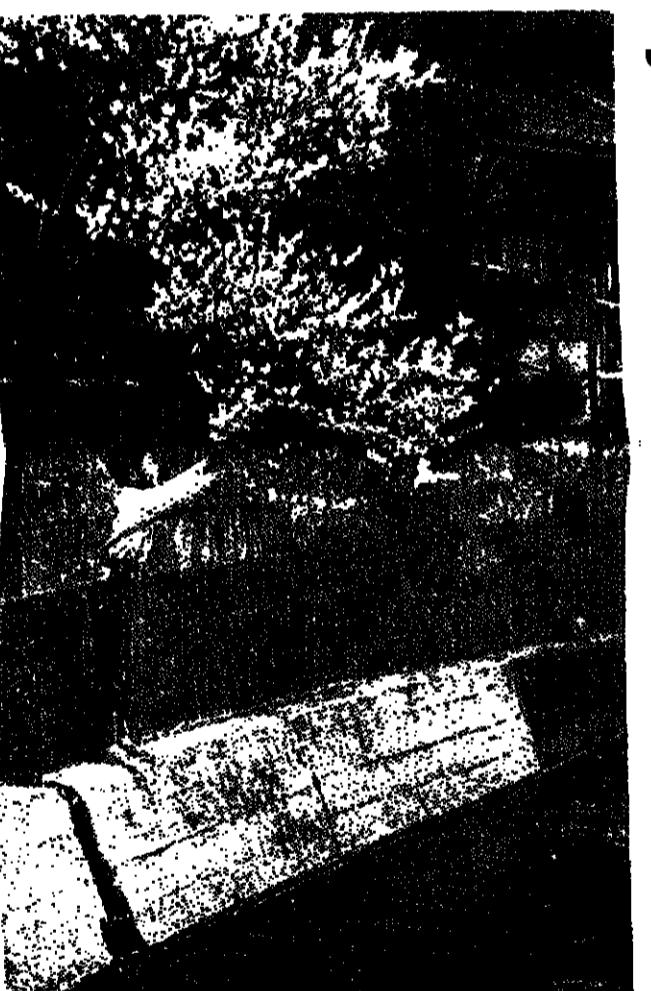
The Japanese language facilitates this keen observation by making fine distinctions in the extent to which the blossoms open up and in the way in which they fall. For example, there is a word for blossoms that fall together in a "sakura storm" as opposed to those that fall one by one.

Sakura also play an important role in Japanese cooking, which is sensitive to changes in season. The leaves are used to wrap sakura mochi, the favorite springtime candy. The blossoms are dried and salted and used to make a popular tea. Sakura are often put into soup, and the symbol of the blossoms adorns a wide range of foods.

Naturalists recently reported that cherry blossoms in many areas were losing their prized pale pink color and turning darker as a result of air pollution in urban centers.

The prospect of massive strikes in the transportation sector in the latter half of this month — a part of the spring "labor offensive" and wage negotiations for the past six years — may make cherry-blossom viewing more difficult than before.

But despite this and other problems in Japan this spring, the image of the flowering sakura continues to touch deeply the emotions of the Japanese people that so often are hidden from the rest of the world.



By Elizabeth Wendt
A branch of cherry blossoms for mother's Ikebana

China also a winner in India's elections

By Mehan Ram
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi

The defeat of Indira Gandhi in the recent Indian elections throws a major hurdle in the path of Soviet strategy in South Asia — much to the delight of the Chinese.

The new Indian government under Prime Minister Morarji Desai has pledged itself to a policy of "genuine nonalignment." And although Foreign Minister Atal Bihari Vajpeyi has taken steps to assure the Soviets that India continues to want a close relationship with them, he also said he hoped there would be further improvement in India's relations with China.

In contrast to Soviet dismay at Mrs. Gandhi's defeat, the Chinese reaction is enthusiastic. Observers here say this presages improved Chinese-Soviet relations.

Although it included attacks on both Soviet and Indian policies, the authoritative Chinese Communist Party journal *People's Daily* said

on March 31, "significant changes in the Indian political situation" would have "an important bearing on the situation in the South Asian continent and the Indian Ocean."

To realize their dream of "dominating the whole world," the commentary in *People's Daily* continued, the Soviets had tried to curry favor with the Gandhi government to "drag India into the orbit of their counterrevolutionary global strategy."

Furthermore, the commentary said, the Soviets had made India "an important bridgehead for the expansion of their sphere of influence in South Asia and the Indian Ocean." It also assailed Soviet "control" of Indian production and increasing Soviet "plunder" of the Indian economy.

The new government in New Delhi, on the other hand, pledged to follow up Mrs. Gandhi's initiatives of last year to break diplomatic stalemate with both the Chinese and Pakistan — a development the Chinese are expected to respond positively to. And the new government is not likely to condone Soviet in-

val activity in the Indian Ocean but to oppose all "big power" rivalry there.

This latter point may also have a side effect; inducing other Indian Ocean littoral states (which, this line of reasoning goes, would feel reassured that India's foreign policy no longer leans toward Moscow) to take up diplomatic equidistance between the rival superpowers.

Until 10 days before the Indian elections, the Soviet media were supporting Mrs. Gandhi and denouncing the political consolidation of her opponents as a threat to democracy. By this tactic, the Soviets thought they were helping the Moscow-leaning Communist Party of India (CPI) to acquire a grip on governmental policies because the CPI and Mrs. Gandhi's Congress Party needed each other's assistance in the elections. The CPI was not strong enough in its own right to influence the Gandhi government's policies, even in the area of foreign affairs.

In fact, however, electoral compulsions at the grass-roots level ruled out a united front

between the Congress Party and the CPI, as the latter found itself on both sides of the fence. In three states it had an alliance with Mrs. Gandhi's party, and in the rest of India it was lined up in opposition.

The result was disastrous for the CPI and — by implication — for the Soviets. CPI representation in Parliament dropped from 24 seats to 11, while the Congress Party fell from power. At the same time, the rival Communist Party of India-Marxist, which claims ideological neutrality between the Soviet Union and China and which more or less supported the opposition Janata Party of Mr. Desai, maintained almost to keep its pre-election strength in Parliament — 22 seats as opposed to 25 previously.

In another development, the March 31 vote of the U.S. Senate foreign relations committee, repealing earlier congressional measures against low-interest loans to India to keep pressure on New Delhi as a gesture of U.S. approval of the election outcome, was voted down. The new administration

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Africa

Mercenaries for Africa: recruiting starts again?

By David Anable
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

A new attempt to recruit American and British mercenaries to fight in Africa appears to be getting under way.

A previous mercenary venture involving Britons and Americans ended in fiasco, imprisonment, and death in Angola last year.

Now, if sources involved in both the 1976 Angolan episode and the current effort are to be believed, the ostensible aim of the recruiting is to find 100 American ex-service men and 300 Britons to join Zaire Government forces fighting Katangan rebels.

The pro-Western government of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko is having difficulty repelling several thousand Katangan exiles who crossed into Zaire from Angola March 8. Latest reports indicate the rebels have taken several towns in the province of Shaba (formerly Katanga) which contains much of the central African nation's huge mineral resources.

In addition, an American mercenary source who recently returned from Africa claims that the organization which last year recruited the Britons for Angola now is looking for fresh British recruits to go to Zaire.

Neither Britain nor the United States appear to have adequate laws to prevent mercenary recruitment and enlistment. But both governments expressed strong disapproval of the 1976 Angolan mercenary intervention and denied any involvement.

Herbert Fleet, spokesman for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, asked about the latest reports of mercenary recruiting for Zaire, said: "We have absolutely, categorically nothing to do with recruiting Americans or anybody else as mercenaries anywhere in Africa."

Mercenaries captured

Some 180 Britons and about 12 Americans were involved in the abortive mercenary intervention in Angola in January and February last year. They entered Angola through Zaire and joined up with one of Angola's pro-Western factions, the National Liberation Front (FNL).

The mercenaries and the disorganized FNL forces were decisively defeated shortly thereafter by heavily armed Cuban troops operating with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which later became the central government. The Katangans now invading southern Zaire fought on the side of the MPLA in 1975 and 1976.

During the brief mercenary involvement, several Britons

and Americans were killed — 14 Britons being shot by their own commanders.

Ten Britons and three Americans were captured and tried last June in Luanda, capital of Angola. Nine were given prison sentences ranging from 10 to 30 years. Four (including American Daniel Gearhart) were condemned to death and executed by firing squad July 10.

Some observers believe it was Zaire's support for the subsequent guerrilla activities of the FNL and of Angola's other rebel faction, Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), that prompted the Angolan Government last month to retaliate by unleashing the Katangan exiles to launch their assault back into southern Zaire. The Katangans had originally fled Zaire during the civil war of the 1960s in what was then the newly independent Belgian Congo.

Others see a Soviet or Cuban hand in the Katangans' attack on the sprawling and strategic Zaire with its huge Western mining investment. Zaire's military commanders claim that Cuban and Russian advisers are working with the Katangan invaders.

The recent (March-April) African safaris of both Cuban President Fidel Castro and Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny underline their respective countries' deep interest and involvement in African affairs.

But whatever the invasion's origins, any Zairian attempt to use white mercenaries to counter it would be likely to be widely viewed outside Zaire as a sign of desperation — particularly in light of the recent record of such mercenaries.

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Africa

The Africa that Castro and Podgorny saw

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny and Cuban President Fidel Castro have both ended their African safaris. But having come and seen, they still have to prove that they con-

qued. As they headed home, at least it was clear that the immediate centers of concern for both were:

- Southern Africa, where the threat of guerrilla war is mounting against the white minority governments of South Africa and Rhodesia.

- The Horn of Africa, where – against the background of perhaps shifting alliances – the Soviet Union and the United States, are locked in a struggle through proxies, for control of the southern entrance to the Red Sea.

The latter crisis is worrying the Soviets the most – as indicated by Mr. Podgorny's unexpected day-long visit to Somalia on his way back to Moscow from Tanzania, Zambia, and Mozambique. Presumably the Soviet President wanted to assess how responsive Somali President Siad Barre was proving to join Sudanese-Saudi Arabian efforts to eject the Somalis out of the Soviet orbit and into an anti-communist regional grouping of Red Sea states which would exclude Ethiopia.

The Ethiopia to be excluded would no longer have easy access to the Red Sea, since the regional grouping's sponsors support the breakaway of Eritrea as an independent state and the absorption of the French Territory of Afars and Issas (coveted by Ethiopia) by Somalia.

Ironically, the present military leaders in Ethiopia – more threatened with breakup than at any time since before the days of the late Emperor Haile Selassie – have chosen this moment to throw themselves into Moscow's arms. In some ways this is embarrassing for the Soviet leaders, since age-old Ethiopian-Somali animosities make it virtually impossible for any outside power to be simultaneously patron of both.

Mr. Podgorny avoided Ethiopia on his African journey. But Mr. Castro did visit the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, and apparently carried out some shuttle diplomacy in the Soviet's behalf. He reportedly tried to get the Ethiopian and Somalian leaders, both of whom profess Marxism, to agree to a federation in which Marxism would be a glue strong enough to resist centuries-old hatreds. Mr. Podgorny's surprise follow-up visit suggests Soviet concern

about the Somalis' dependability if they are pressed too hard in the direction of the Ethiopians.

Just as both Mr. Podgorny and Mr. Castro were in the Horn (but never together) so were they in lands in southern Africa most closely connected with the black guerrilla struggle against white minority governments. (Mr. Castro included Angola in his itinerary, but Mr. Podgorny did not.)

In Zambia both visited Victoria Falls and looked across the Zambezi into embattled Rhodesia. In Mozambique, both were given rousing welcomes in Maputo, the capital, less than 40 miles from the South African border. Both during their travels met radical black nationalist leaders operating outside their homelands: Joshua Nkomo (Rhodesia); Sam Nujoma (Namibia or South-West Africa); and Oliver Tambo (South Africa).

All this will have reinforced the belief of the white governments in Rhodesia and South Africa – and of most whites in both countries – that there is a Soviet-Cuban conspiracy to use African nationalist movements to establish Communist control of all southern Africa. These white governments reproach the United States, Britain, and other Western lands for not seeing things this way, too.

But it remains to be seen just how much Mr.

Podgorny and Mr. Castro did achieve. Admittedly both were warmly welcomed by host governments and people. Both promised support to the guerrilla movements against the white minority governments in Rhodesia and South Africa (although guerrilla war has yet to be launched in South Africa). And Mr. Podgorny did sign a treaty of friendship with Mozambique's President Samora Machel, which promises Mozambique military aid. (Other African countries having such a treaty with the Soviet Union are Somalia and Angola.)

Yet at this stage, it would seem that the African governments most directly concerned with the nationalist struggle in Rhodesia – Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, and Angola – are as much concerned with exploiting the Soviet Union for African ends as Mr. Podgorny is trying to support African nationalism for Soviet ends.

Significantly, within a few hours of the departure of both Mr. Podgorny and Mr. Castro from Africa, the presidents of Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia, together with high-level delegations from Botswana and Angola, were conferring in Mozambique to discuss the results of Mr. Podgorny's visit.

Amin's thumb on Ugandans

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Athens

Foreigners still living in Uganda are under less constraint than last month, but "it is far worse for the Ugandans themselves" under President Idi Amin's military rule, says a former American resident of Uganda for good.

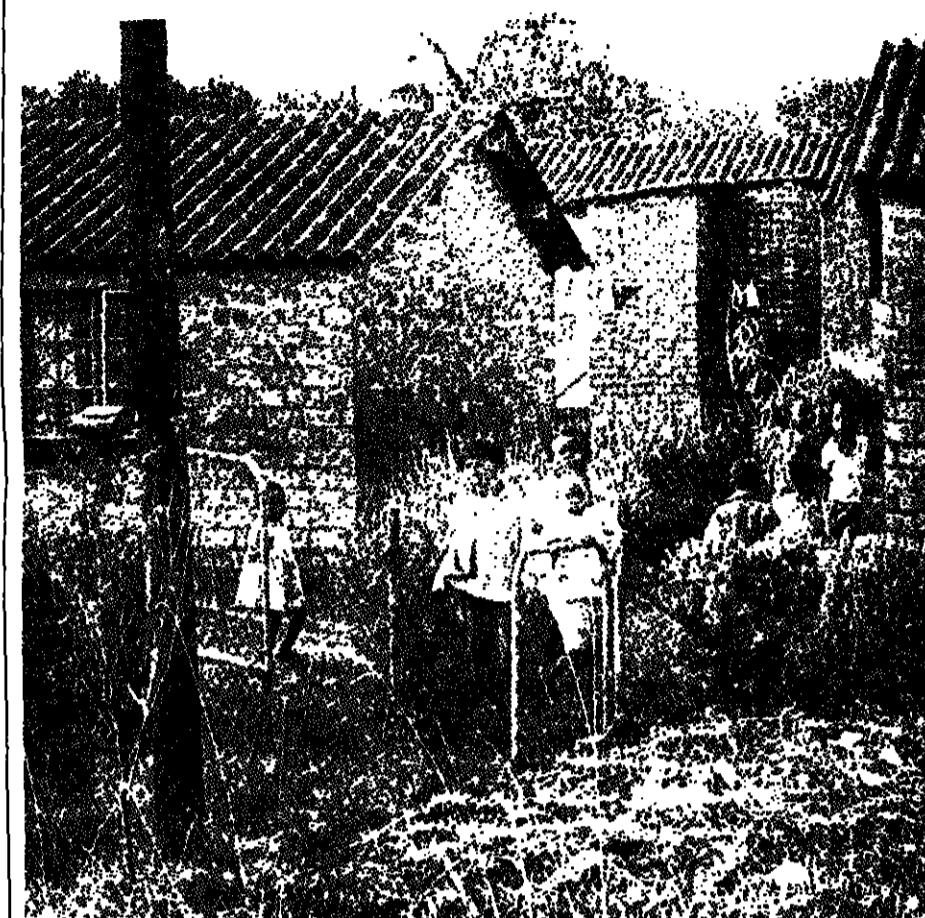
President Amin's security advisers include a Briton and other foreigners, "and they are blamed for some of the killings and brutality practices on political prisoners. You can hear shooting and other evidence of this brutality almost every night in [the capital,] Kampala," this American said.

The last foreign diplomat who had firsthand information on the disappearance from a Kampala hospital and presumed murder of Mrs. Dora Bloch – the elderly Israeli woman (who also held a British passport) left behind when Israeli commandos flew into Entebbe and rescued the hijacked Air France passengers last July – has been given "an extended vacation from Kampala, probably for his own safety," the American added.

Forty-two of the hijacked passengers are suing Air France and Singapore Airlines for alleged failure to take security measures at Bahrain and Athens airports last June 27 to prevent the hijacking.

Relatives of Mrs. Bloch and of two persons killed during the rescue operation have joined the lawsuit, filed in a U.S. circuit court in Chicago, where both Air France and Singapore Airlines have offices. The suit alleges Air France failed to screen boarding passengers in Athens, where there was a strike of airport personnel on the day of the hijacking, to detect weapons. They are suing Singapore Airlines because it carried the hijackers from Bahrain to Athens, where they boarded from the transit lounge.

The alleged terrorists are said by Israeli authorities to belong to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a radical Palestinian guerrilla group involved in the Uganda hijacking, Israeli Radio reported March 18.



Black township, Kwa-Mashu, near Durban

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

South Africa will devote far more of its budget on financing black housing

South Africa to spend more on defense and to appease blacks

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

A siege mentality is steadily and subtly taking hold among white South Africans.

When Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny was in neighboring Mozambique earlier, the South African Government, or at least government propagandists, were pleased.

What better evidence could be had, they said, that the government was justified in hiking the defense budget 21.3 percent for the coming year? That means the defense budget has increased about 250 percent since 1973.

This is the response to what the South African Government sees as the overwhelming external threat. But there is also in the budget a response to the internal threat – and more precisely to last year's riots by black students in African townships in protest against government policy on black education. The item for black education is up nearly 50 percent over last year's figure. The total for the coming year is 1.17 million rands – roughly the same figure in U.S. dollars. (The figure for defense is 1.65 billion rands.)

There was a dramatic increase in money for black housing, up 38 percent to 153 million rands. But blacks in urban areas still cannot own the land their houses are on.

'Everybody happy, except . . .'

The black newspaper The World said of the defense-heavy budget, "We want bread and justice – not guns." It added, "Everybody seems happy [about the budget]. Everybody, that is, except the blacks in the country."

White reaction to the budget has been acquiescent. The average citizen will not feel the 16 percent tax on imports for a while. And the plan for a defense bond lottery will keep some whites busy debating the morality or immorality of such a game of chance.

Meantime, a remarkable piece of legislation, called the criminal-procedure bill, is going through Parliament. If passed, it would drastically erode an individual's rights before the courts.

With this legislation, its critics charge, the government would undermine the judicial system that, along with the press, has had a modicum of recognition as being somewhat independent of government policies.

What bill calls for

The noisy protest over the government's attempt to censor the press has diverted attention from the criminal amendment bill.

Under that bill the innocent-until-proven-guilty stance of the courts would be reversed.

A witness could be held in prison for as long as six months; written statements (instead of cross-examined witnesses) could be used as evidence; and the accused would no longer have access to friends and legal advisers (only advice from a lawyer, not access).

Other authoritarian measures the government has proposed within the past month include a doubling of the penalties for blacks who break the pass laws that control their movements, and a decision to arm Johannesburg's traffic police.

Also, the government has moved to widen its power to outlaw strikes.

Union organizing pushed

This comes on the heels of a historic move by black unions to form a federation. Black unions are allowed to exist but are not legally recognized as having the right to formulate contracts with employers.

All of these steps to increase the government's arbitrary powers are surrounded by talk in the press of plans for the future shape of South Africa.

A government committee has been meeting for a year to consider changing the present basically British system of Parliament to whites.

A main concept talked about is a federal setup, with whites, Indians, and Coloreds (people of mixed race) combined in a council of the top. Presumably blacks who number 11 million out of 28 million, would be involved eventually in the council.

White reaction to the budget has been acquiescent. The average citizen will not feel the 16 percent tax on imports for a while. And the plan for a defense bond lottery will keep some whites busy debating the morality or immorality of such a game of chance.

In an interview with the South African Sunday Express, Mr. Kaunda said he was concerned with the "dilemma" of sections of the white minority in South Africa as well as with the injustices inflicted on the black majority.

"There are two groups that might especially benefit from visiting us – those who are afraid of what a future shared fairly between all races might bring and those whose beliefs are ahead of their community and who must feel lonely and oppressed in those communities," he said.

Middle East

Palestinian forces in Lebanon move to pouncing position

By Helena Cobban
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Brut, Lebanon

The counteroffensive of the Palestinian and leftist forces in South Lebanon has begun.

Since April 3 they have taken the strategic hilltop village of Taybeh and now are in a position to threaten many more of the strongholds that have come under the control of their Israeli-backed Lebanese rightists Christian foes during the six months since the fighting flared up in the south.

Some people here are arguing that the Syrians have been forced to do this, mainly by the openness with which some sections of the right have been co-operating with Israel.

Reports that units of the Syrian Army present in Lebanon as part of the Arab deterrent force here have taken part in the fight against the rightists have been exaggerated. In a day-long tour of the battle zone, this correspondent saw no signs of their presence.

But Palestinians on and off the battlefield admit that the Syrians have given implicit sanction to their current offensive. And units

of the Syrian-backed Saiga commando group have participated in the fighting.

All of which raises the question whether the Syrians have once again turned a somersault regarding their intervention in Lebanon. Have they reverted from their support of the rightists which started in the summer of 1976 back to their support of the Palestinians which preceded it?

Some people here are arguing that the Syrians have been forced to do this, mainly by the openness with which some sections of the right have been co-operating with Israel.

The rightists' relations with Israel, especially decisive for their campaign in the south, may well have been a factor in Syrian thinking. But more central seems to have been the obstruction from some sections of the Lebanese right, especially from the supporters of hard-line Camille Chamoun to the rebuilding of the Lebanese military and administrative apparatus.

The Palestinians have few illusions that the most recent apparent Syrian turnaround will necessarily last for long. They suspect that the Syrians still cherish plans to weaken the Palestinian military presence in the south in the long term. Recent talks between Palestine Liberation Organization leaders and Syrian officials, they say, showed that the differences be-

tween Syria and the Lebanese Christian rightists are more over priorities than over long-term aims.

Meanwhile, the success of the latest Palestinian offensive, which has taken major Palestinian units to within 2½ miles of the border with Israel and led to fierce artillery exchanges between Taybeh and the northern Israeli settlement of Misgavim – the latter supporting the Christians – has raised speculation here that Israel might launch once again of those "reprisal raids" which brought Israeli forces swarming deep into south Lebanon in the early 1970s.

Some Palestinians are arguing that it would be hard for Israel to launch a raid at the present time, with elections to the Knesset (Parliament) not far off and the U.S. heavily committed to reactivating the overall Middle East peace process. Others claim to have detected warning signs of an imminent Israeli incursion.

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Latin America

Dictatorship tightens its grip on Brazil

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

President Ernesto Geisel's action in shutting down Brazil's Congress does three things:

1. It reaffirms the military dictatorship that has been in power for 13 years.
2. It slows whatever momentum existed for a return to democratic rule in South America's biggest country.
3. It snubs President Carter, who has sharply criticized the military regime for human rights' violations.

Anti-United States feeling has been growing among Brazil's military since Mr. Carter became President.

In recent weeks, Brazil has refused its \$50 million share of U.S. military aid along with other Latin American military governments; rejected a report on human rights drawn up by

the U.S. Department of State under a congressional law; and torn up a 25-year-old military agreement with the U.S., warning Washington that it should not interfere in Brazilian affairs.

Crackdown urged

On the domestic front many of Brazil's military commanders have been pressuring President Geisel to crack down on the regime's opponents.

General Geisel apparently yielded to the pressure at a time it appeared likely that the center-left Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB), the only legitimate opposition group in the country, would score well in elections next year for state governors.

It was the MDB's strong showing in legislative elections in 1975 that led to General Geisel's closing of Congress April 1. At that time the MDB won 44 percent of the seats in the lower house of Congress; and that allowed it

this past week to block a government-sponsored judicial reform bill.

Although the pro-government Alliance for National Renovation has a majority in Congress, it did not have the two-thirds needed to pass the judicial reform measure.

The MDB objected to the bill because it did not restore the rights of habeas corpus for political prisoners or guarantee the independence of judges from government pressure. Under various military decrees, judges may be removed by military commanders if they do not toe the government line.

General Geisel accused the MDB of "transforming itself into a dictatorship in Congress" and blocking the judicial reform bill. He claimed that the military represented true democracy.

In response, the MDB called on its supporters to join in a peaceful struggle for "the quest of democracy, with liberty and social justice."

It took issue with what it claimed was the government's assertion of "a monopoly to decide what is good for Brazil."

Reforms' expected

Observers expect General Geisel to use the next few months to institute wide-ranging political reforms aimed at diminishing the MDB's strength and making sure that power remains in the hands of the military and its supporters.

The last time the government suffered a congressional defeat was in 1968. Then it closed Congress for nine months, weeding out opposition leaders and stripping dozens of congressmen of their seats.

MDB supporters are concerned that scenario may be repeated.

General Geisel now is expected to pass the defunct judicial reform measure by decree, using powers the military has had all along but has not used often.

U.S.-Cuba relations: sports crack open bolted door

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

It is being billed as "ping-pong diplomacy" played with a basketball.

The arrival in Cuba this week of a South Dakota basketball team appears a significant benchmark on the road to rapprochement for Cuba and the United States.

It could well have an effect on Cuba-U.S. relations similar to the ping-pong matches four years ago that helped open the way for China-U.S. relations. But there is some hesitancy here about making too much of this week's basketball games.

The visit is the first officially sanctioned goodwill trip to Cuba by a group of North Americans since 1961, when diplomatic relations were broken. It also is the first sizable contingent of U.S. citizens to visit Cuba since President Carter lifted the 17-year-old ban on travel to the Caribbean island.

Moreover, it comes as contact between the two countries is mushrooming. Direct negotiations

tions over fishing zones have been under way in New York for two weeks, and a sizable bevy of Minnesota businessmen will be going to the island later this month.

Mr. Carter's lifting of the travel ban and his subsequent ending of the prohibition on spending dollars in Cuba have facilitated the talks and the trips — and it seems likely that a move toward rapprochement between Havana and Washington is, indeed, coming.

There are, however, major hurdles in the way: Cuba's Angola and other African ventures, spotlighted by Cuban President Fidel Castro's just-completed Africa trip, worry the U.S. The continuing trade boycott of the island by the U.S. bothers the Cubans. But neither hurdle seems insurmountable, and anyway visits such as that of the basketball team this week are not affected by the hurdles.

Cuba would have preferred a baseball team, indeed, Dr. Castro earlier this year invited the New York Yankees, but U.S. baseball commissioner Bowie Kuhn scotched the idea, saying an all-star team ought to go, and the invitation languished.

But this week's visit is still somewhat low key. The analogy with Chinese ping-pong diplomacy does not entirely hold up, for there have been contacts with Cuba all along, with a variety of congressmen, businessmen, and men visiting the island. That was not the case with China before the ping-pong players took to the tables.

Moreover, the Cubans are playing the atlas somewhat casually. Dr. Castro himself may not be present. He is in Moscow the first part of the week, after winding up his three-week trip to Africa, and it is not clear whether he will be back in Havana before the basketball team leaves April 8 after three exhibition games.

And so are many in Washington, including Senators Abourezk and McGovern as well as Rep. Les Aspin (D) of Wisconsin.

The State Department is watching the visit with some interest for its effect on future contacts. A number of top officials are pleased about the arrangement and will be looking for future signs that Cuba wants to participate in other sport competition.

Since there are no direct air links between Havana and the U.S., the South Dakota team is flying on a chartered 100-seat DC-9 jetliner. It left Sioux Falls, South Dakota, early April 4 with a stop in Washington to pick up Senator Abourezk, Rep. Aspin, Miami Dolphins owner Joe Robbie, and a handful of newsmen. Senator McGovern will travel to Cuba separately, joining the group April 5.

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Latin America

Dictatorship tightens its grip on Brazil

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

President Ernesto Geisel's action in shutting down Brazil's Congress does three things:

1. It reaffirms the military dictatorship that has been in power for 13 years.
2. It slows whatever momentum existed for a return to democratic rule in South America's biggest country.</

Canada

Quebec's new policy to bolster French draws fire

By Don Sellar
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Ottawa

Quebec's pro-independence Parti Québécois government has unfurled a tough new language policy to bolster the French language and culture within its borders.

But already, Premier René Lévesque is being accused of seeking to erase the English-speaking minority in Quebec as a first step toward winning a referendum that would take the province out of Canada.

The language policy, to be embodied in legislation scheduled for presentation to the Quebec National Assembly later this month, is a bold step to strengthen French in the province.

It is designed to close the doors of English schools to all but Quebec's English-speaking

minority — a move that the government's opponents fear will lead to suppression of English culture and the English language.

Conditions proposed

If the policy becomes law, English-language schools would be open to children having at least one parent who attended English-language primary school in Quebec or with brothers or sisters in the English system.

In addition, children whose parents had attended English schools outside Quebec but who are resident in Quebec when the law is passed would be allowed to remain in the English system.

Essentially, Quebec, a French-dominated province of 6 million, is throwing up a high wall around its one-million English-speaking inhabitants, allowing the minority to retain its

education rights but refusing to extend them to future immigrants from anywhere else in Canada or from other countries.

Government would act

Prime Minister Trudeau said last month his government would act if the Quebec legislation contravenes language and school guarantees set forth in the Canadian Constitution.

The federal government has the power to disallow provincial legislation, but it has not used this heavy-handed technique at all in the last few decades.

Section 133 of the British North America Act, the written Canadian Constitution, guarantees the right to use English or French in legislatures and courts.

Federal sources indicate that if the Quebec legislation breaches the Constitution on these or other points, a federal challenge probably would be raised in the courts.

From page 1

★ Britain's man sees for himself

The bishop is believed to be able and willing to assume the mantle of black leadership in Rhodesia, but it would destroy him politically to be seen to be doing this in association with Mr. Smith. Hence his call to Britain to sponsor a referendum.

Britain's view

The British idea — discussed with U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance during his stopover here en route home from Moscow April 1 — is different. The British Government accepts that the Kissinger proposal for a two-year interim-government leading to black majority rule will be difficult to revive. Not only does Mr. Smith seem determined to hang on to power during this interim period, but the various black leaders cannot agree on how power should be distributed among themselves.

At the same time Dr. Owen is determined to pin Mr. Smith down as to where he stands on his commitment to back majority rule in two years' time. This commitment was the major breakthrough that Dr. Kissinger achieved during his southern African shuttle last year, but more recent Smith statements seem to have

blurred its edges. Dr. Owen wants to bring the commitment back into sharp focus again.

Bypassing controversy

A constitutional conference would bypass the controversy over an interim government while showing the world that Britain is prepared to take up its responsibilities as the colonial power which never recognized Mr. Smith's unilateral declaration of independence over 11 years ago.

It could discuss the makeup of an independent Zimbabwe and the guarantees that might be written into a constitution to safeguard the rights of minorities. Once agreement was reached on the blueprint for an independent black-ruled nation, the discussion of a transitional government could be taken up.

Dr. Owen has emphasized that he is open to any new ideas and that his main purpose is to listen to the various currents of opinion and see what is feasible. He is in close touch with Washington whose support will be vital to any new initiative.

His whirlwind tour April 10 to 16 is taking



By Alan Band

From page 1

★ Americans play Cubans — both sides win

The encounter, which the Cubans won rather handily, 81 to 72, is widely seen as one more nudge in the direction of normalizing Washington-Havana relations.

It did not make much difference who won the opening game, or for that matter, who wins the second.

Members of both squads felt something of the drama of the occasion — especially the two young players who were the flag bearers. Ron

Pedersen, co-captain of the South Dakota team from Rock Valley, Iowa, and Armando Orchet, from a small town in Camaguey Province, stood side by side holding their respective flags while the national anthems of their countries were played. They kept their eyes riveted on the special box where Senator McGovern and fellow South Dakota Sen. James Abourezk, the trip's organizer, were standing with a number of Cuban sports officials.

From page 1

★ Kremlin beats anti-U.S. drum

Linkage of the new Soviet hard line on the Middle East with previous dissatisfaction with Mr. Carter on détente seemed visible in the phrasing chosen by commentator Vladimir Kudryavtsev in Izvestia, the government newspaper, April 4.

The commentator invoked the human-rights issue, and his article was given added weight by the fact that he was identified as vice-chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, a group that mirrors top-level thinking here. Mr. Kudryavtsev had attended the recent meeting in Cairo of the Palestine "National Council."

Apparently referring in part to Mr. Carter's remarks at the recent town meeting in Clinton, Massachusetts, Mr. Kudryavtsev said:

"The zealous advocates of human rights think that apart from movable borders which they would like to secure for the Israeli aggressors, there are also movable homelands which they intend to grant to the heroic Palestinian people."

"But the Arab people of Palestine have its

homeland. It was taken away from it by the Zionists backed by the so-called human-rights champions from across the ocean."

The article accused Mr. Carter of standing on the problem on its head. It criticized Washington for allegedly making it seem as though the Middle East problem consisted of ensuring security for Israel alone.

Before April 4 Mr. Brezhnev had hinted at new details of a Soviet plan for a Middle East settlement. On March 21 he had seemed a shade more ready to consider Israeli views and a shade less insistent on Palestinian rights.

Dr. Castro and Soviet leaders are

certain to be discussing more aid to southern Africa. Soviet Prime Minister Alexei N. Kosygin had to delay a meeting with Tunisian Prime Minister Fidel Nouria to fit in a session with the Cuban President.

The Soviets are using the Tunisian leader's

visit to stress support not only for Tunisia and its important stretch of Mediterranean coastline but also for neighboring Algeria and Libya.

"It was really something," the 6ft., 8in. Pedersen said after the game, and the equally tall Orchet agreed: "What an opportunity!"

More than just players

The road to rapprochement between the two countries remains long and somewhat elusive. But this week's basketball competition here and the considerable attention focused on it, in both the U.S. and Cuba, are bound to have a favorable effect. The Cubans have opened the doors, not only to the South Dakota basketball players, but also to a contingent of 50 or so other South Dakotans and a sizable group of U.S. reporters.

At the coliseum the TV crews from the three U.S. networks, together with radio and TV crews from Miami, National Public Radio, and a variety of Midwest outlets, almost stumbled over one another filming and taping the events of the evening.

They cooperated in getting their film out to Miami on charter flights that would have been impossible to arrange several years ago because of restrictions on both sides.

The fact that more than 125 U.S. citizens are here for the games and that they are being given VIP treatment, with sumptuous meals, special tours of Havana and its environs, and other amenities, is a clear indication of the changing climate in the relations between Cuba and the U.S.

If visitors have any disappointment over the trip, it must center on the absence of Cuban President Fidel Castro, who was in Moscow while the first game was played. He went there last week following the conclusion of a three-week African trip and is not expected back in Cuba before the visitors leave the island.

They were warned of the wave of cold anxiety that enveloped the Soviet buildup of weapons. Senator Jackson has been in the forefront. True, a lot of Soviet experts in world affairs have felt that the American people have been lulled into a false sense of security. False or not, they were obviously lulled. And then Mr. Brezhnev says that hard "no." And that made a difference.

As soon as that wave of cold anxiety went through the American body politic we find Senator Jackson swinging around and accusing the Carter administration of being too bland, and bold in its public remarks aimed at Moscow.

If détente were, in the public perception, seen to have been killed, who would have had the blame? Until April 5 that blame would probably have been largely heaped upon Mr. Brezhnev and Senator Jackson impartially. It seems a reasonable deduction from their April 5 behavior that both sense the risk of being in a position of being too bland, and both are getting out from under.

The Soviets are using the Tunisian leader's

visit to stress support not only for Tunisia and its important stretch of Mediterranean coastline but also for neighboring Algeria and Libya.

"But the Arab people of Palestine have its

From page 1

★ Arms talks

In the first days after that "no" to Mr. Vance in Moscow, Americans were asking one another: "What does it mean? Is it serious?"

The sequence shows the difference between a world in which détente is presumed to be solid and a world that could be minus any détente at all.

Détente dates from May of 1972, when Richard Nixon went to Moscow and concluded the SALT 1 agreement with the Soviets. It was ratified by the Senate in two parts. The limit on ABMs (antiballistic missiles) was passed on Aug. 3 by 88 to 2 votes. The limit on numbers of strategic weapons was passed on Sept. 14, again 88 to 2. Détente was remarkably popular at its birth in 1972.

Ever since, Senator Jackson has been the leading critic of détente in particular, and the most outspoken person in high place in Washington in criticism of the Soviet Union in general.

The last two years have been the heyday of criticism of détente on the American political scene. It has been the popular side of the street in American politics. Senator Jackson has ridden it to a position of unusual power in the Senate. Patrick Daniel Moynihan has ridden it to the Senate from the United Nations.

But apparently there is a difference between attacking détente when it is presumed to be there — in place, a solid part of the environment — and a world minus détente.

Mr. Brezhnev's dead in Moscow on March 30 was chilling and disturbing because it revolved suddenly the thought of a pre-détente world. What was it like then? A lot of old anxieties came flooding back. It is one thing to attack détente when it exists. It is another thing to be seen destroying it.

A survey of American anxieties taken before March 30 by The Christian Science Monitor showed enormous concern arising over crime in the streets and over economic uncertainties — but not even a mention of any anxiety about the Soviet Union or nuclear weapons. No matter how much détente may have been overseen to the American people by President Nixon, the fact is that Americans in general have not worried about the "Soviet threat" or the danger of nuclear weapons from 1972 until this past week.

True, plenty of Cassandras have been warning of the Soviet buildup of weapons. Senator Jackson has been in the forefront. True, a lot of Soviet experts in world affairs have felt that the American people have been lulled into a false sense of security. False or not, they were obviously lulled. And then Mr. Brezhnev says that hard "no." And that made a difference.

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THE



Solzhenitsyn — poured funds into dissident cause



Sakharov — best known of the dissidents



Bukovsky — met twice with President Carter



Ginzburg — arrested recently



Grigorenko — fears return of Stalinist repression

Under the shadow of the KGB-Soviet dissidents

World headlines proclaim them. President Carter defends them. Moscow calls them criminals, even spies. The future of détente could depend largely on them.

Just who are these Soviet dissidents who appeal to world opinion to help their cause? How much influence do they have? The Monitor's Moscow correspondent cables this report.

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
Life under the constant shadow of the KGB (secret police) includes one hard-and-fast rule, Soviet dissidents say: When the surveillance tightens, always carry with you a bag containing warm socks, warm underwear, and a sweater or two.

You could be arrested at any time. You can never tell how long you might be in prison. And those prisons are cold, especially at this time of year.

One of the more prominent dissidents to be arrested lately, a short, dark, wavy-haired Jewish computer programmer, named Anatoly Shcharansky, carried his plastic bag with him everywhere for the first 11 days that he was shadowed around the clock. But the day he was finally picked up he had dashed from his apartment to telephone a friend — and had left the bag behind.

He had spent two cold nights in custody before friends gathered warm things for him, and the KGB allowed them to be sent in to him (a usual prisoner's right here). Dr. Andrei Sakharov, best-known dissident of them all and winner of the 1975 Nobel Peace Prize, telephoned to offer a fur coat.

Since Dr. Sakharov stands over six feet and Mr. Shcharansky is only a shade over five feet, the offer was politely refused. Later, friends laughed out loud at the thought of Mr. Shcharansky trailing around a KGB prison wrapped from head to toe in Sakharov fur.

The daily life of Soviet dissidents grows harder and harder. Not all of them are watched as closely as Mr.

Shcharansky was just before his arrest. At one point 14 agents crowded and elbowed one another on the Moscow subway following him home from a synagogue. But most are aware they are being watched.

Photographer snaps, then ducks...

Three who met a Westerner the other day were photographed as they shook hands. A photographer popped up from behind a wall at the far end of a vacant lot a few minutes later as the group walked by. He snapped some pictures and ducked down again.

The dissidents have lost their jobs — either because they have applied to emigrate to Israel, or campaigned for human rights, or have offended in other ways. They live hand to mouth, in old clothes and worn boots. They keep in touch by constant visiting back and forth, swapping details on surveillance and arrests, checking to see which of them still have telephones. (A dissident's telephone is likely to be disconnected quickly here.)

To the average Soviet citizen they are largely unknown. The only times some of their names appear in print is when they are accused of being renegades, or criminals, or spies (as were Mr. Shcharansky and colleague Vladimir Slepak March 4 by the government newspaper *Izvestia*).

However, they received an unprecedented burst of top-level attention March 21, when Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev publicly attacked them as "renegades," whose danger to society lay in the support he said they get from Western "propaganda and intelligence centers." Mr. Brezhnev mentioned none by name — but in singling them out for such criticism, he seemed by implication to acknowledge the influence that the dissidents do exert in Soviet society.

Loyal Soviet citizens echo Mr. Brezhnev's criticisms. They stand for nothing, commented one Muscovite to this correspondent contemptuously. Referring to expelled Vladimir Bukovsky, whose recent meeting with President Carter upset the Soviets, he added, he is not worth talking about. He is lower than this, holding the palm of one hand an inch from the floor.

Most dissidents are virtually unknown by name in the West as well, despite recent headlines. The exception is Dr. Sakharov, one of the fathers of the Soviet atomic bomb, who went on to win a Nobel Peace Prize, receive a personal letter from President Carter and, lately, to appear both on television and the cover of Time magazine.

And it is possible that the efforts of the dissidents, far from helping them, will only end up making conditions worse here. The Kremlin insists it is simply enforcing Soviet laws. ⁴

Their cause, however, is drawing some support abroad — from the White House, the U.S. Congress, and Western Europe. Moscow has warned that U.S. interference in Soviet affairs could erode the trust necessary to negotiate such larger issues as limiting strategic arms.

The Soviet protesters are older, in general, people who made it in the Soviet system but who now either the freedom to emigrate or greater observance of the protection they see inside the Soviet Constitution against arbitrary search and arrest, failure to explain in detail refusals to emigrate, and other human rights issues.

The Soviet protesters are highly educated men and women. They once were scientists, engineers, doctors, psychiatrists. Some are historians (such as Vitaly Rubin, now in the West). Some are writers (Alexander Solzhenitsyn). They are resourceful and highly motivated.

Many are Jewish, but by no means all. Dr. Sakharov, for instance, is not, nor is Alexander Ginzburg, the man who distributed to friends thousands of dollars earned in royalties by the sale of Solzhenitsyn books abroad. Mr. Ginzburg has converted to Christianity.

Stalin-type trials feared

One is older, bald, and cheerful former major general, Pyotr Grigorenko. His wife says she was a member of the Communist Party for 30 years. Both fear a return of Stalin-type trials following the arrests of six dissidents in six weeks from early February to mid-March: Mr. Shcharansky, Yuri Orlov, Alexander Ginzburg, Mihail Rudenko, Oleg Tikhonov, and Isaf Begun.

One young man now freed from a Leningrad psychiatric hospital is Vladimir Borisov, who has spent virtually his adult life (nine years) in such institutions for political offenses. He and Pyotr Grigorenko met in such a place years ago.

Other activists include a computer expert with a toothbrush moustache, Vladimir Turchin (skilled in English, he heads the unofficial branch of Amnesty International hero); a Baptist family asking for advice in the face of alleged harassment; Pentecostals who claim persecution for 60 years.

Deliberately they defy the Soviet system. The Kremlin accuses them of working for Western intelligence, for money. Indeed, they were aided by money earned from Solzhenitsyn books sold abroad (although this has been stopped). They reply they simply want the right to emigrate (if they are Jewish) or to live in a country where basic freedoms are protected.

Dr. Sakharov has never applied to leave. Dr. Orlov, who organized a group to publicize alleged Soviet violations of human-rights clauses signed after the European-North American conference in Helsinki in 1975, wants to reform his own society.

In some ways the dissidents have the same characteristics as the government they battle. They have the

same penchant for planning, the same conspiratorial air of working together under outside pressures.

They often show a lack of full understanding of the outside world. They exaggerate the attention they are receiving there. They sometimes make statements that strike the outside ear as impudent, such as accusing the KGB of causing the Jan. 8 explosion in the Moscow subway as a provocation against dissidents.

They attribute recent releases — such as Mr. Borisov and Dr. Mikhail Shtern, freed 5½ years early on March 14 — as the result of pressure. Other observers feel the Soviets may simply be trying to soften the blow of other arrests in Western eyes.

But they think they have found in President Carter, as well as in British Foreign Secretary David Owen, a sympathetic audience. They think other Western European leaders and Communist parties support them.

And it is their hope that sustains them. They don't know how it will all happen, but they keep telling themselves that somehow, some day, public opinion the world over will come to their aid. They see the Kremlin as sensitive to public criticism, especially from French and Italian Communists. Their first reaction to the Shcharansky arrest was to issue impassioned pleas to Jews and others outside the Soviet Union to speak up loudly.

Keep up the pressure, said one dissident to a Western correspondent the other day. "We are the ones who will have to take the effects. We will."

"Keep speaking out," says Mr. Slepak, a physicist with a fluffy graying beard, who has been trying to get to Israel for seven years. "It might not be so good for us here, but it will help Jews everywhere."

Yelena Bonner (Mrs. Sakharov) was blunter. "What are you afraid of?" she asked loudly after a correspondent had wondered about the impact on the Vance visit.

Dr. Sakharov believes in Mr. Carter and American help. He has criticized historian Roy Medvedev, who has been reported as saying Mr. Carter's statements have provoked more arrests. Dr. Sakharov calls this the statement of a traitor.

So the dissidents disagree among themselves. Their goals differ. They work against tremendous odds. They contravene the spirit of the Soviet system, and they may fail.

But they keep trying. How the Soviets treat them will remain a large part of U.S.-Soviet relations for a long time to come.



Brezhnev — attacked dissidents as 'renegades'

books

Watergate: John Dean's view

Blind Ambition: The White House Years, by John Dean. Leicester, England: WHS Distributors. £4.95.

By C. Robert Zelnick

During the three traumatic months between late March and late June, 1973, John W. Dean III had moved from his position as the linchpin of the Watergate cover-up to the linchpin of its exposure. Following his week of intense grilling before the Ervin committee he was in need of both physical and moral repair. A prep-school friend invited Dean and his wife, Maureen, to an idyllic little retreat near Melbourne, Florida.

"While we were packing," John Dean recalls, "I had ignored her question about why I was carrying 'inside the Third Reich,' by Albert Speer. I wanted to know how Speer had coped with guilt."

That Dean should turn to Hitler's minister of armaments and munitions for psychological reinforcement is, perhaps, the most interesting statement in his rather disappointing account of his experiences during the Watergate period. "Blind Ambition." For, in studying Dean, one is almost involuntarily drawn to the classic portrait of Speer, which appeared in the British newspaper *The Observer* of April 9, 1944:

Technical mastery

"Speer is not one of the flamboyant and picturesque Nazis. Whether he has any other than conventional political opinions at all is unknown. He might have joined any other political party which gave him a job and a career . . . much less than any of the other German leaders does he stand for anything particularly German or particularly Nazi. He rather symbolizes a type which is becoming increasingly important in all belligerent countries: the pure technician, the classless bright young man without background, with no other original aim than to make his way in the world and no other means than his technical and managerial ability. It is the lack of psychological and spiritual balaust, and the ease with which he handles the terrifying technical and organizational machinery of our age, which makes this slight type go extremely far nowadays."

Dean's mastery of technical and organizational machinery has indeed brought him extremely far. He first achieved recognition in

GOP ranks as a junior staff member of the House Judiciary Committee as the Republicans were searching for issues to use in the 1968 presidential campaign.

"It looked to me like the Republicans had only two possible issues to make a comeback with," he recalls telling former special Watergate prosecutor Henry Ruth: "crime and defense. I didn't know anything about defense, so I decided to become a crime expert . . . the Nixon campaign didn't call for anything about crime problems that Ramsey Clark wasn't already doing under LBJ. We just made more noise about it."

That earned him a place in John N. Mitchell's Justice Department, from which he was recruited as White House counsel when John D. Ehrlichman became head of President Nixon's Domestic Council.

Dean treated his White House position as a "small law firm," competing for business and influence in the Nixon White House. The speed and technical competence of his work earned him bigger assignments, more luxurious office space, a larger staff, and a prioritory place on the White House limousine list.

It also placed him at the epicenter of the Watergate cover-up where his skill at "plugging the dikes" brought him the sincere, albeit temporary, gratitude of the President.

Scapgoat role?

It is clear from Dean's own account of the period that his defection from the Nixon team was the product of no moral awakening. Rather it was the incompetence of higher-ups at containing the matter, together with Dean's probably correct notion that he was about to be made the scapegoat, that drove him into the arms of a skittish criminal lawyer, Charles Shaffer, the Watergate prosecutor, and the Ervin committee.

Having switched sides, Dean proved every bit as competent at exposing the cover-up as he had been at conducting it. And with equal results.

He became the most celebrated character of the case, the "star witness" of the prosecution. When prosecutor James N. Neal moved his office from its K Street headquarters to the district courthouse on John Marshall Place, Dean, while technically imprisoned, succeeded to Neal's old digs — "a corner location with lots of windows" — complete with a "John Dean" office nameplate.

This proved too much for Mr. Ruth, who made him get rid of the nameplate and move into assistant prosecutor Jill Vollmer's former office.

Following commutation of his one- to four-year sentence to the four months already served, Dean again landed on his feet with a lucrative book contract, a reporting assignment for Rolling Stone magazine, and some tidy fees on the lecture and talk-show circuits.

An offer to help

Again, he is proving helpful to those who can further his career. After a recent interview session with Dean, Sally Quinn of the *Washington Post* reported: "Tell me what kind of . . . you want to do, and I'll try to help you." He says generously and later tells of other reporters who seemed nervous or unimpressive and whom he has helped out."

According to Ms. Quinn, Dean claims to be a registered independent who could "as easily have worked for a Democrat."

Dean's book, of course, contains little new information. What he knew and was willing to talk about, he told three years ago to investigators who could be of use during his period of frantic plea bargaining.

His allegation that President Ford, as House Minority Leader, was in close touch with the White House during efforts to scuttle the late Rep. Wright Patman's investigation of Watergate, received more play than it deserved. Mr. Ford's memory lapses notwithstanding, anyone remotely familiar with the workings of the White House and Capitol Hill — not to mention Mr. Nixon's tapes — would long ago have assumed that to be the case.

Where Dean's book is most disappointing, though, is in its virtually total lack of moral or even historical insight. Reading it, one knows nothing more about the motivations, personality traits, objectives or views of Mr. Nixon and his former top aides than when he began.

And if there is any ethical concept embraced in Mr. Dean's work, it must surely be: Don't get caught, or, if you do, make yourself useful to the people who catch you.

C. Robert Zelnick, who covers the U.S. Supreme Court for this newspaper, is a free-lance journalist based in Washington, D.C.

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arts

The Met makes a *lalapalooza* out of 'Lulu'

Long neglected Berg opera is dazzling

By Thor Eckert Jr.

New York

When the Hamburg Opera brought its production of Alban Berg's "Lulu" to the Metropolitan Opera House in 1968, New Yorkers had only half a chance to see one of the more controversial 20th-century operas — and one the Met seemed to have no interest in mounting.

But now, finally, Met regulars can see it, in a brilliant production staged by director of production John Dexter, sets and costumes by Jocelyn Herbert. This second performance kept the predominantly subscription audience spellbound and enthralled for virtually the entire evening — no mean feat for such dense, complicated music, and an unfamiliar opera in German.

The overall feeling about "Lulu" is one of gaudiness theatrically. There are moments that bring shivers, much humor, some intensely frightening moments as well. Mr. Dexter has heightened all of it memorably, while not outstepping the bounds of taste, nor underplaying the more violent moments, particularly Lulu's and Geschwitz's death at the hands of Jack the Ripper.

The Herbert sets are richly evocative, realistic, art-deco with an amazing illusion of majestic height in Schön's home, or the desolate poverty of the London garret. The costumes sustained the visual excellence.

The work cried out to be given in English, as was the earlier Poulenc "Dialogue of the Carmelites." There were too many stretches of the skill dialogue that demanded the vernacular

five times every other year, so Met audiences can grow with it and really begin to appreciate the power of the opera. If the third act ever sees the light of day (Berg's late widow claimed she was in contact with the deceased composer, who ordered her to not release the composed but unorchestrated act) "Lulu" will truly come into its own.



By J. Heffner

Gramm (left) and Farley in 'Lulu': 'a stunning theatricality'

German film director: focusing in on greatness

By David Sterritt

New York

When things are slow, movie critics often amuse themselves by springing the name of the next superstar filmmaker from Europe — Rainer Werner Fassbinder of West Germany.

If you haven't heard of him yet, or seen any of his sweet or savage pictures, it's because Fassbinder himself won't cooperate. He refuses to rev his creative engines and give us the triumphant tragicomedy he seems so capable of, thus establishing his name at last among casual moviegoers as well as art-film aesthetes. His quirky, sometimes purposefully offensive pictures hover on the brink of greatness, needing the merest creative nudge to topple them into "immortality." This has been going on for years, and one wonders whether Fassbinder might actually want it this way.

Elusive figure

Compared with other star directors, such as the stony Lina Wertmüller or the cerebral Ingmar Bergman, Fassbinder seems an elusive personality. Literally elusive: Though I have met him briefly on the two occasions when I was supposed to interview him he didn't show up. He has pulled similar stunts with other journalists. He is a big favorite at the annual New York Film Festival, where he ignores the microphone at the obligatory press conferences, muttering replies in broken English or mumbled German. Then he folds quietly out of town. Not a recluse, exactly, but a celebrity despite himself, with a leather motorcycle jacket and a what-am-I-doing-here? expression planted permanently on his features.

Fassbinder shows the same abandoned attitude toward his work. Perhaps deliberately, perhaps mistakenly, he doesn't seem interested in creating "masterpieces." While many directors covet the opportunity to linger lovingly over every shot, Fassbinder charges from project to project as fast as he can move, regardless of the difficulty or unpleasance of the topic at hand. Maybe that long-awaited triumph will come when he slows down a bit, takes more care. But for now he seems unstoppable, surging ahead with several films per year as director, screenwriter, and occasional

star of a massive and eccentric body of work. How many other 31-year-olds can boast completed pictures — at last count — and no let-up in sight?

While Fassbinder's films frequently deal with the most ordinary levels of middle-class life, he takes few pains to attract the kind of mass audience that Stirk reached with such epics as "Imitation of Life" and "The Tarnished Angels." The characters may be just plain folks, but the Fassbinder movie meanders at its own exhausted pace, simultaneously meditative, stifled, rich, and bleak. The action (if there is any) unfolds in its own good time. Sometimes difficult subject matter is injected into an everyday framework — race or age prejudice, political exploitation, even homosexuality. Here Fassbinder explores possibilities and conclusions with little regard for audience tastes and sensibilities.

The first American Fassbinder festival now going on at Manhattan's New Yorker Theater wanders over the wide range of Fassbinder filmmaking. It opened with the American premiere of "Mother Küster Goes to Heaven," the story of a kindly old lady whose husband goes berserk (off-screen) and commits murder and suicide. Ignored by her selfish children, she finds herself exploited by the sensationalistic press, then manipulated by friendly left-wingers. Strange to say, the ending is as loving and friendly as any Fassbinder moment I've seen.

Bitterness and banality

By contrast, "Fox and His Friends" is a bitter and often banal look at homosexuality and class conflict. "The Merchant of Four Seasons" is the colorful, but finally forgettable story of a loser on the way down. "All That Heaven Allows," about an older woman and a younger man, but puts a grandmother in Jane Wyman's role and an Algerian worker in Rock Hudson's. "Bawdry of a Holy Whore" is a tedious and fascinating look at what Fassbinder evidently sees as the tedious and fascinating business of filmmaking.

Stay tuned for further Fassbinder news. It could be that the much-discussed "Unmaker's Time has come — or gone — at last.

This year's Oscar winners

By Phil Elderkin

Los Angeles

What made the 49th Oscar Awards different from most of the others was the fact that a low-budget film, "Rocky," about a club fighter who gets an unexpected shot at the heavyweight championship of the world, won in a strong field. The picture was made for less than \$1 million, low by Hollywood standards.

"Rocky" had to beat out "All the President's Men," the story of the journalistic unraveling of Watergate; "Bound for Glory," the biography of depression singer Woody Guthrie; "Network," the movie industry's satirical revenge on TV; and "Taxi Driver," the study of a Vietnam veteran who goes berserk in New York.

What "Rocky" had going for it

French/German

Editorial

L'énergie nucléaire est essentielle

Le rapport du groupe d'étude de la Fondation Ford sur l'énergie atomique est un document sérieux. Alors que son avis défavorable envers le réacteur électronucléaire a tenu la une des journaux, sa conclusion la plus significative est que les Etats-Unis ont néanmoins besoin d'énergie atomique. Cette étude approfondie d'une année n'a pu envisager aucun moyen de répondre au besoin d'énergie du pays de façon réaliste sans avoir recours à l'atome; et cela laisse probablement prévoir aux Etats-Unis que le président Carter annoncera le 20 avril.

Pendant sa candidature Carter a parlé de l'énergie nucléaire comme de la source d'énergie à utiliser en «dernier recours». Maintenant que l'équipe gouvernementale du président Carter a dû faire face aux faits de l'approvisionnement en énergie, des membres éminents comme Robert Fri, faisant fonction de chef de l'administration de la recherche énergétique et du développement, disent que les Etats-Unis doivent «recourir au dernier recours».

Le raisonnement du groupe d'étude de la politique énergétique parrainé par la Fondation Ford symbolise la logique

qui impose une telle conclusion.

Ce groupe de 21 savants, tirés en grande partie du milieu universitaire, s'intéresse aux disciplines sociales et économiques plutôt qu'à la physique et à la mécanique. Il a examiné l'économie, la sécurité et les possibilités techniques de toutes les options du pays en matière d'énergie.

Ses conclusions font peu de cas de l'importance, dans ce siècle, des sources d'énergie dénommées de remplacement — conservation, énergie géothermique, fusion, énergie solaire — bien qu'elles encouragent la poursuite de leur développement. Le groupe considère encore la fusion comme étant seulement une promesse qui sera réalisée par les générations futures. L'énergie géothermique est limitée géographiquement et dans sa totalité. La charbon et le refroidissement solaires pourraient bientôt s'avérer utiles, mais leur portée sur l'utilisation générale de l'énergie sera faible.

Le plutonium et le réacteur électro-nucléaire sont une autre affaire. Le groupe ne les aime pas parce qu'il craint qu'ils ne stimulent la prolifération des armes nucléaires. Étant donné qu'il ne voit pas de raisons économiques pour favoriser actuellement le développement du «marché du plu-

tonium», et étant donné qu'il existe ce qu'il y a d'une quantité insuffisante d'uranium pour alimenter les réacteurs ordinaires, il supprime le projet actuel de réacteur électro-nucléaire et mettrait le développement en veilleuse. A franchir, nous ne sommes pas sûrs quant à cette question.

En tout cas, il n'y a rien dans le rapport pour conforter soit les partisans de l'énergie nucléaire, soit les adversaires irréductibles. Nous sommes pas surpris. Chaque étude objective fait sur le problème de l'énergie nucléaire. A tout prendre, le groupe ne voit pas d'autre solution que d'avoir un mélange d'énergie nucléaire et de celle provenant du charbon, étant donné surtout qu'il ne voit pas comment l'extraction du charbon pourrait croître assez vite pour faire face à tous les besoins d'énergie.

Il est temps que le pays envisage la situation avec réalisme. Nous tenons le développement vigoureux diverses sources d'énergie et l'accord minuscule qui est fait de l'énergie atomique. Mais la crainte existe de tendrait à tuer cette dernière, qu'elle compte naïvement sur l'absence encore vague de «solutions de remplacement» est dangereuse et l'encontreuse.

On dit souvent : « Vous obtenez ce à quoi vous vous attendez » et cela nous incite à examiner quelles sont en réalité nos perspectives en ce qui nous concerne. Cette déclaration n'est peut-être pas littéralement exacte, mais nos circonstances humaines sont fortement influencées par ce sur quoi nous comptons.

La Science Chrétienne nous enseigne pour réconforter soit les partisans de l'énergie nucléaire, soit les adversaires irréductibles. Nous sommes pas surpris. Chaque étude objective fait sur le problème de l'énergie nucléaire. Le Pasteur dit : « Mon ami, confiez en Dieu ! Car de lui vient mon espérance. »

Un jour j'ai été guéri de rhumatismes par le traitement de la Science Chrétienne. Je souffrais beaucoup mais en très

peu de temps je pus marcher normalement. Toutefois, un matin, quelques semaines plus tard, je me suis de nouveau réveillé avec de grandes douleurs. Je me suis tout d'abord dit que la maladie revenait me tourmenter. Je pus surmonter cette crise uniquement en me tournant vers Dieu. J'ai songé aux paroles du Pasteur citées plus haut. J'ai compris que si mon espérance venait de Dieu, qui est le bien infini, je ne pouvais m'attendre qu'au bien. Immédiatement la crise a disparu comme aussi la douleur, et les symptômes ne se sont plus jamais présentés.

Il est bon de se demander souvent : Qu'est-ce que j'espère réellement ? Si la pensée est ouverte aux idées justes venant de Dieu, l'Entendement divin, nous verrons que le pouvoir de l'intelligence divine soutient chaque pas spirituel en avant.

Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondateur de la Science Chrétienne, écrit : « Quand le but est désiré, l'espérance hâche nos progrès. » Comment savons-nous si nos désirs sont justes et si nos buts sont bons ? En nous tournant vers Dieu en prière. En désirant faire ce qui nous aidera le mieux à exprimer ce que nous

sommes en réalité — le reflet spirituel du bien infini, l'image parfaite de Dieu.

Un bon nombre de nos désirs légitimes, l'existence humaine répond négativement. Elle dit que nous sommes trop pauvres, trop jeunes, trop vieux, trop faibles ou certains de limitations matérielles. Mais Dieu ne nous dit pas cela. Notre Dieu est le même Dieu qui ordonna à Moïse et à son peuple d'avancer, face à la mer, alors que les Egyptiens les poursuivaient de près. Mais ce qui semblait impossible au sens matériel des choses céda et ils traversèrent la mer vers la Terre promise.

Quand nous prions pour obtenir la compréhension spirituelle, la direction que nous recherchons est à notre portée. « Le désir, c'est la prière ; et nous ne pouvons rien perdre en confiant nos désirs à Dieu, afin qu'ils soient façonnés et exaltés avant de prendre forme en paroles et en actions. » Ainsi s'exprime Mrs. Eddy. Nous sommes en terrain sûr quand nos besoins s'appuient sur des désirs justes.

Psalm 62:6; « Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures, p. 426; « Science et Santé, p. 1. « Christian Science (éditions allemandes)

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures » de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec le texte anglais en regard. Cet ouvrage est édité par la Science Chrétienne, ou le Comité éditeur à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115

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A quoi vous attendez-vous ?

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]
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Editorial

Nuclear energy is essential

The report of the Ford Foundation study group on nuclear power is a sobering document. While its disaffection with the breeder reactor has received the headlines, its most significant conclusion is that the United States, nonetheless, needs nuclear power. This year-long intensive study could see no way realistically to meet the country's energy need without the atom; and that probably foreshadows the policy President Carter will announce April 20, too.

President Carter spoke of nuclear power as the energy source of "last resort." Now that President Carter's administrative team has had to face the facts of energy supply, such prominent members as Robert Fri, acting head of the Energy Research and Development Administration, are saying that the United States has to "resort to the last resort." The reasoning of the Ford-sponsored Nu-

clear Energy Policy Study Group typifies the logic that compels such a conclusion.

This group of 21 scholars was drawn largely from the academic community and weighted toward social and economic disciplines, rather than physics or engineering. It looked into the economics, safety, and technical feasibility of all of the country's energy options.

Its findings strongly discount the contribution in this century of so-called alternative energy sources - conservation, geothermal, fusion, solar - although it urges pushing their development. It considers fusion still to be only a promise to be realized by future generations. Geothermal energy is limited geographically, and in total amount. Solar heating and cooling can be helpful fairly soon, but the impact on overall energy use will be small. As for conservation, while it is one of the most effective means of making available additional energy, the group feels it cannot offset the growing

need for power in the United States.

That leaves the atom, coal, and reliance on imported oil (which the study does not recommend) as the major options.

As to economics and safety, the study finds nuclear and coal power to be comparable. Environmental hazards of coal - strip mining and air pollution - offset the radioactive hazards of the atom. The higher costs of coal as fuel offset the higher capital costs of nuclear power. On balance, the group sees no alternative to having some mix of nuclear energy and coal power, especially as it sees no way coal mining could grow fast enough to meet all the energy need.

Plutonium and the breeder reactor are another matter. The group dismisses these because it fears they would stimulate the spread of nuclear weapons. Since it sees no economic reason for developing "the plutonium economy," now, and since it expects there will be seriously misguided

of uranium to fuel ordinary reactors, to cancel the present breeder project, to ban breeder development on the basis of safety. Frankly speaking, we are not yet certain about this question.

In any case, there is nothing in the study to comfort either extreme advocates of nuclear power or extreme opponents. We are surprised at that. Every objective study has been made, of the energy options, and it has concluded that the United States needs all its energy options, neither overrelying on any one, nor foreclosing any of them.

It is time for the country to support the nation realistically. We support the development of alternate sources of energy, including a well-tailored scrutiny that is neither exaggerated nor complacent. But the exaggerated and complacent "kill-off" of the latter while naively holding on to the former is still vague promise of "alternatives" seriously misguided.



Horseback riding, Concord, Massachusetts

The Home Forum



Courtesy of The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

'Orangerie' 1969: Steel sculpture by Anthony Caro

Caro: framing the abstract

If I said that Anthony Caro's "Orangerie" makes a point of its abstractness, you might guess the sense of this remark from looking at a photograph of the work. But the obvious question would be: what is its abstractness?

Even a photograph conveys the idea that its abstractness is something more than its failure to resemble anything recognizable. This sculpture happens to lend itself well to being photographed; it is more vertical and more graphically composed than many of Caro's works. However, in a photograph it is easy to miss the importance of the fact that the sculpture sits directly on the floor, something you can't miss when you're in the presence of it.

Caro, a British sculptor, is widely credited with inventing a mode of sculpture that can dispense with a base or any such convention

to signify its detachment from the hugger-mugger reality of everyday affairs. And once the conventional "framing" device is eliminated, the problem arises as to how a sculpture can be abstract and still convey its difference from all sorts of other objects that also don't happen to represent anything. It is because Caro has repeatedly solved this problem in the very activity of making it explicit that he is regarded as a master of "constructed" sculpture. ("Constructed" sculpture differs from the traditional techniques of carving and casting by being the aggregation of already distinct elements, in Caro's case, scraps of industrially preformed steel.)

Caro works by improvising, choosing a bunch of steel shapes and arranging them now one way, now another, until he arrives at

a composition that he feels has a coherence of its own, independent of any possible reference to the realities surrounding it. When he succeeds in this (and it is surprisingly easy to see when this happens), his sculptures seem to withdraw into a dimension of their own, coincident with but not the same as the real space in which one stands while looking at them. "Orangerie" in particular has a buoyancy of form, thanks, in part, to shapes along which the eye slips very fast and smoothly, that can make it seem to float like an apparition before you. Closer focus reveals that this effect is due to the internal array of the parts of the work, as well as its being painted a deep mauve that masks the material qualities of steel. (You see this, for instance, by walking around the work, for the effect I describe is best felt from the "frontal" view shown here.)

The abstractness of Caro's sculptures is precisely their aspect of seeming to derive the literal physical circumstances by means of an internal coherence of which each work is a novel instance. Caro eliminated the hint from sculpture with such authority, it seems, because he preserved its effect by means of an internal coherence of his own, suited to his way of working by implication. The internal coherence of his work, something he discovers in the working process, his preception of an order that arises out of inarticulate materials tells him what others will see, too. This is the confidence that Caro's work embodies, and it is this confidence that makes a work like "Orangerie" exhilarating to see.

Kenneth L. Quinn

How to catch up with the future

Have you read "Future Shock" by Alvin Toffler?

Some friends of mine who managed somehow to accrue two copies of this fat volume in the wave of accolades that greeted its appearance on everyone's TV tables way back in 1970, generously gave me one of them a year ago.

They hadn't read it either.

It says on the cover, in heavy black lowercase: "A study of mass bewilderment in the face of accelerated change." The blurb includes C. P. Snow stating that "we shall all be very foolish" to neglect it; Peter Lusitano touting it "a classic of the genre . . ."; Anthony Wedgwood Benn launching his commendation of it with the words: "If we are to

survive as a human race . . ."

Apart from raising such an incalculable issue as "If we don't survive as a human race, what are the alternative states of being we might survive as?" Mr. Benn is just the sort of shock-tactic cliché to make the likes of me feel I should read this book — dedicated as it is to "Sam, Rose, Heidi and Karen, My closest links with time," its jacketed, as if is, on a design by Neil Fujita. . .

The question, however, is: has change accelerated so fast already that it has left even this more-than-up-to-date book running breathless behind? If so, to read it now would be mere regression, an exercise in nostalgia. (On the other hand, what is more up-to-date in 1977 than nostalgia? — perhaps I should read it as a historical study of the mores and attitudes of the early seventies). And the fact is that for a full seven years we have survived as a human race in spite of the notorious fact that I haven't read a single word of "Future Shock" by Alvin Toffler; and although I am feeling superconscious of the enormous risk I've taken, I do have a kind of contrary notion that maybe the risk wasn't so great after all.

To be up-to-date. But to be that I should have to learn to depend upon God's guidance. The Psalmist said, "My soul, wait thou only upon God; for my expectation is from him."

At one time I was plagued by rheumatism

through Christian Science treatment. I had been in severe pain, but within a short time I was able to walk freely. A number of weeks later, however, I again awakened one morning in severe pain. My first thought was that the problem had returned to plague me. I was able to overcome this fear only by turning to God. I thought of the Psalmist's words, quoted above. I realized that if my expectation was from God, who is infinite good, I could expect only good. Immediately the fear fell away and with it the pain, and the symptoms never returned.

To expect good opens thought to hope and unlimited trust in good. God is divine Mind, and man, as God's spiritual image, expresses the intelligence of Mind. This is the truth of being. But the human mind is unable to cope with its beliefs in good and evil, and often the negative view of life and its prospects states the right intent and desire for progress.

It is good to ask ourselves often, "What do

I really expect?" If thought is open to the

right ideas that come from God, divine Mind,

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telligence supports every spiritual step for-

ward.

Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, writes, "When the destination is desirable, expectation speeds our progress." How do we know whether our desires are right and our aims are good? By turning to God in prayer. By desiring to do what will best help us to express what we really are, the spiritual reflection of infinite good — the perfect image of God.

Human experience says no to many of our right desires. It says that we are too poor, too young, too old, too weak, or hemmed in by material limitations. But God is not saying

A proposal Listening, half awake, to a singer practicing

Being a dealer in words I have not a penny
For restaurant meals,
Journeys in taxis,
Or any
On wheels,
Park bench for snacks is
More in my line,
If ever we dine.

Being a dealer in words I have not a cent
For buying a home
In country or town,
Or paying the rent.

It will probably come
To just bedding down
In a derelict shed,
If ever we wed.

Being a dealer in words I have only these
To keep you from cold.

But I'll wrap you in dreams
Whenever you please,
In mangles of music, unfinished, unsold,
Woven in shadows, woven by streams,

Woven of fabric that drifts in the air,
If ever you care, if ever you care,

A. L. Hendriks

The ringing joy of it redeems
the landscape of my wooded sighs:
the sweet, insistent music streams.

Between the high and low extremes
I hear the music fall and rise;
her voice winds through my nodding

dreams;

Doris Kerns Quinn

The Monitor's religious article

What do you expect?

The saying, "You get what you expect," often stirs us to consider what our expectations for ourselves really are. The saying may not be literally true, but our human circumstances are greatly influenced by what we expect.

Christian Science teaches that we can expect only good, for God, infinite good, divine Love, cares for and governs man. But we do have to learn to depend upon God's guidance.

The Psalmist said, "My soul, wait thou only upon God; for my expectation is from him."

At one time I was plagued by rheumatism through Christian Science treatment. I had been in severe pain, but within a short time I was able to walk freely. A number of weeks later, however, I again awakened one morning in severe pain. My first thought was that the problem had returned to plague me. I was able to overcome this fear only by turning to God. I thought of the Psalmist's words, quoted above. I realized that if my expectation was from God, who is infinite good, I could expect only good. Immediately the fear fell away and with it the pain, and the symptoms never returned.

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It is good to ask ourselves often, "What do I really expect?" If thought is open to the right ideas that come from God, divine Mind, we will find that the power of divine intelligence supports every spiritual step forward.

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BIBLE VERSE

I delight to do thy will, O my God:
yes, thy law is within my heart.
Psalms 40:8

Out of the ancient seas

Brave and restless hearts,
yes, and strong hands
from all across the lands,
but above all,
it was the vast forest of trees,
those tall masts under sail
that first crossed,
then conquered the ancient seas.

Only the symmetry of purpose,
can harness a force
as elusive as the wind,
then contradict a cloudless sky
canvassing for freedom — high
and steady on its course.

Jef Sippele

this to us. Ours is the same God who told Moses and his people to go forward when they faced the sea with the Egyptians in hot pursuit. But what seemed impossible to the material sense of things yielded, and they crossed over to the Promised Land.

Our guidance is at hand when we pray for spiritual understanding. "Desire is prayer; and no loss can occur from trusting God with our desires, that they may be moulded and exalted before they take form in words and in deeds," writes Mrs. Eddy. We are on safe ground when we base our expectations on right desires.

Psalms 02:5; "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 420; "Science and Health

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OPINION AND...

In good hands

By John Gould

Our good boy Guernsey Le Peley lately depicted Henry Kissinger in his editorial page cartoon. Dr. Kissinger, or reasonable caricature thereof, was seated at the groaning board making away with a monster meal, and he was holding his fork in his right hand as he shovelled away. I forgot now the point of the cartoon, but I noticed the starboard action, and I believe Kissinger is, instead, a sinister minister. I recall how my wife and I, when we visited Europe, became interested in the left-handed manipulation of the dinner fork, and became accomplished at it to the extent that it took about four months to break the habit after we got home. A number of Germans noticed that we had shifted, when in Rome, etc., and asked the question they like to ask, "Don't you find it's much more sensible?"

It certainly is. We Yankees hold the fork in our left hands while we cut our meat with the knife in our right. Then we go through an absurd exchange in which we lay down the knife, move the fork to the right hand, lift the morsel to our lips, and then return the fork to the left hand while we cut off another piece. We probably waste enough energy to paper a room. The European manner is to leave the fork in the left hand, and take your exercise by a brisk

walk in the Schwarzwald. I do not know, but I surmise Dr. Kissinger may have mastered an ambidextrous international etiquette during his tenure, partly to oblige cartoonists. Perhaps he will speak of this in his memoirs-to-be.

Meantime, every so often the subject of table manners brings into focus again the tale that my grandfather told of the big party at the Curtis clearing, c. 1780 or so. Our family had come to take up land, and presumed themselves to be rather alone in an untouched wilderness. Being on a ridge, they had a view over a valley, and one morning they were astonished to see a thin column of woodsmoke climbing into the eastern sky. Close-hand investigation called for a walk of six miles, and it turned out a trapper, also a squatter, had made a clearing and built a cabin at that distance. The breakfast fire of Mr. and Mrs. Curtis, who were to remain and be our "neighbors" for a generation, had revealed their presence. Introductions were made, lifelong friendship established, and after a time Mr. and Mrs. Curtis invited Mr. and Mrs. Gould for dinner.

It was the first social encounter of the township. The provender consisted of a venison stew, with some meager vegetables cooked in



'He doesn't have much appetite for the job'

it, and lacking any kind of service bowl or tureen. Mrs. Curtis simply lit the cookpot from the fireplace hearth onto a flat-rock hot-mat on the table, a la centerpiece, and the four

participants approached it from N. S. E. W. The cutlery now comes in context.

Mrs. Curtis lacked a silver service; this does not mean she was poor — for those, and in those circumstances she was well equipped. There was the steel three-kitchen fork indispensable in old-time eating, and also used rather generally as a table: There was a wooden spoon, ladle size, that Curtis had fashioned from the fuel pile; there was a woodman's skinning knife which Curtis needed in his poultry. In very short family had a knife, fork, and spoon.

Mrs. Gould used the spoon, linsmuck as

was visiting lady and that implement was suited for the work at hand. Mr. Gould used the three-tined fork. Mrs. Curtis used skinning knife. Mr. Curtis, cutting in improvisations a pioneer life required, brought in a carpenter's awl from his bench, and now he raised it (to save it ready) and "broke bread" by spearing a venison in the pot. In this manner festivities commenced, and a good time was had by all.

There was nothing in Grandfather's list of this matter that informs us with what the happy diners lifted their food. By

The three-letter obscenity

Melvin Maddocks

A strange new sense of delicacy threatens to smother the American language in blushes. Obscenity is still spoken as casually as the conjunction "and." With almost bored complacency all the four-letter words get printed in "family" magazines. Look, ma, no dash-dash-dash, no dot-dot-dot! And in case any older, sheltered person may not know what they mean, the newest dictionaries will calmly and antisocially define them for him or her.

But the most sophisticated tongue trips and stammers in a paroxysm of embarrassment over the new four-letter words, like "girl." And why not? "How dare you, pig!" the onlookers will more or less unanimously cry in outraged response to such coarseness.

To "girl" on the list of the new unspeakable words must now be added "boy." The Boy Scouts of America, not exactly one of your radical fringe groups, has decreed in a memo that "the word 'boy' is objectionable to minorities, our young adult (male and female) leaders, and naturally to the young women enrolled in our co-ed Exploring program."

And so by Scouts of America is officially changing its name to Scouting/USA.

Ode and still odder! Such scrupulous agonizing over one or two select words in a not-very-perfectionist world where (as we are regularly informed by English teachers) those very people who used to be known as "boys" and "girls" generally handle their spoken and written language by means of "Ughs!"

Dictionary editors now record, rather like a public-

opinion poll, the words their users take umbrage to. One of the terms judged to be an obscenity to a large number of '70s lips and ears is "housewife," a word that dates back to the 13th century and corresponds exactly to "husband" (meaning, "house man").

Having posited that "boy," "girl," "housewife," and so forth are dirty words, the new prudes are quite prepared to wash out with soap the mouths that pronounce them — and never mind any talk of "free speech" this time.

In the 18th century there was an editor named Thomas Bowdler who produced an edition of Shakespeare, expurgated, for which he won himself dubious fame in the verb "bowdlerize," implying a persnickety fastidiousness carried to absurdity. With all this walking on euphemistic eggshells, fretting over every term that might just possibly offend, the question occurs: Are we, in our new "sensitivity," committing a new sort of bowdlerizing?

There are a few words — most notably the old obscenities — that are designed to be abrasive and insulting: less words than whiplashes. But most words, as any amateur linguist knows, are born unloaded. They become flattering or derogatory according to context in writing and intonation in speech. If "boy" is applied to a man to deny him his station as a man, clearly "boy" is pejorative.

We don't know about you, but no young adult of ours is going to get mixed up in funny business like that.

Readers write

In support of human rights and against Concorde

President Carter should be applauded for his strong support of the human rights issue in his dealings with foreign governments. If we are sincere in considering ourselves a nation which is attempting to ensure personal liberty, our concerns must embrace all humanity.

We need to honor, however, the integrity of the countries with which we are dealing. It will require careful diplomacy to present the human rights issue as a winning proposition for everyone concerned.

Rather than making accusations and withdrawing support, thus angering those governments which are not honoring human rights, let us offer incentives — perhaps additional trade, aid, or cultural exchange opportunities — in exchange for their humanitarian efforts.

Only through mutual support can all nations work together to make the world a better place for living.

Wheat Ridge, Colo. Carolyn L. Clark

The Carter administration should never weaken in its stand for human rights. Human

rights are for everyone on this planet, not for just a selected few.

No one nation or group of nations has the wisdom or the power to act as the human rights policeman of the world. This can be done only by a duly authorized world agency.

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights is the only logical power to enforce human rights wherever a proved violation occurs. That power must be clearly limited and defined under world law to prevent abuse.

Victor Rice

Very little is being done to defend the human rights of the black majorities in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia); and even less is being done to help the Palestinians who are in peril not only of losing their human rights but their very entity and existence. We worry about Russian Jews denied the right to emigrate from Russia, and yet, most of us endorse the systematic wholesale and armed expulsion of the Palestinians from their homes; and their consignment to unproductive living in squalid

exile. This is committed by Jewish immigrants, many from Russia.

Let humanity for once triumph. Let us defend the human rights of all, Jews, blacks, Palestinians, everywhere.

W. Lafayette, Ind. Abdulla B. Danok

Say no to Concorde

It always seems distressing when our close friends disagree with our personal viewpoints. The Monitor's editorial "Concorde at the brink" caused the same sort of distress.

The United States aborted its own supersonic program when it became evident that a sizable segment of our population would not tolerate the boom! France and England must have been able to read that signal but evidently chose to believe their plane would receive preferable treatment. They seem to be saying "We've made it; we need it; and you will have to accept it."

You say give it a trial. If that were done and the re-

break-even point — it would then be impossible to say no to the French and English and the boom-bird.

As difficult as it may be, the Port Author of New York must say no to the Concorde.

Robert A. Goss, Eugene, Ore.

Applause

I was very interested to read the letter entitled "Reporting on Southern Africa" by J. F. van Honschooten which you published Monday, January 31, 1977.

I heartily endorse the sentiments expressed by Johannesburg, South Africa Mr. J. F. van Honschooten.

It would seem to me to be a reasonable conclusion from the above that Mr. Carter has, so far, been busier playing politics than running the country.

On the other hand, Mr. Carter has, so far, been busier playing politics than running the country.

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COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

The cruise missile

We in the West cannot, of course, know all of the reasons why Leonid Brezhnev and his colleagues in Moscow decided to say a firm, hard, sharp no to President Carter's opening proposals on arms limitations. Nor can we measure accurately the relative weights of the various probable reasons. One important reason might have been as simple as a decision to show Mr. Carter that he is, after all, a "new boy" in world affairs and should be more respectful toward his seniors.

However, we do know that a particular weapon known as the "cruise missile" had something to do with Mr. Carter's first stumble in world affairs. The Soviets quite obviously are worried about what the Americans are talking of doing about this weapon. We will be hearing a lot more about cruise missiles before we hear less about them. So, herewith, the ABCs of cruise missiles.

A cruise missile is a weapon which travels on wings and is propelled by an air-breathing engine. The idea is not new. The German V-1 which was used against London during the closing phase of World War II was a cruise missile. The English called it a "buzz bomb." V-1s were so slow that fighter planes could intercept and overtake them — and tip them over

by getting wing tip under wing tip and lifting. Their effective range was about 50 miles. There has been continued development of this type of weapon. The Soviets have one now called the Shaddock which is launched from a submarine, or from a surface ship, with a range of about 1,800 miles. (They come with "flip-out" wings.) A land-based version would be easy. And it would be mobile since it could be trundled around on an ordinary truck. Cruise missiles could be fitted out with either nuclear or conventional warheads — at will.

It is believed that the Soviets are far behind

in the technology of the small, lightweight engine and in the self-correcting guidance system capable of reaching Zero CEP.

A cruise missile program could pick up and

revive the advantage the United States has had over the Soviet Union over the last decade in MIRVs (multiple independently targetable warheads). Moscow has probably been shaken

badly by the suggestion that Mr. Carter would be willing to take a SALT II formula which left out the cruise missiles. Under that arrangement, Washington could build as many as

it chose.

At present there is no limit on the number of cruise missiles the U.S. could launch or deploy.

SALT II does not cover them. SALT II has not been written. Mr. Carter offered to put limits on American cruise missiles in return for So-

viet limits on the size and numbers of their big ballistic missiles.

If the cruise missile is half as good as its ad-

vance billing indicates, the Soviets have some-

thing to worry about. Cruise missiles in NATO

territory with their potential Zero CEP accu-

trations of Soviet tanks in East Germany

which so worry NATO planners. Cruise mis-

siles launchable from bombers and submarines

would take over much of the targeting load

and on the ICBMs in their "silos."

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it chose.

Small wonder, I think, that Moscow was not

ready when Mr. Vance was in Moscow to settle

on a new SALT formula. They have a lot to

think about.

Richard L. Strout

Quality — not quantity of life

What's a "Physical Quality of Life Index"? Nothing less than an attempt by serious students to measure the "quality" of life. Not just the quantity of things an individual amasses or produces or has available to him as he makes his way about a small planet called Earth occupied by four billion other striving people, but the conditions of that life, yes, the quality

Before explaining further, here are some international comparisons: the "Q" Index of India is 39; oil-rich Kuwait 76; the United States as a whole 96; Netherlands 99, and Sweden 100.

Demographers, sociologists, economists have tried of the "gross national product" as a yardstick for comparing states and nations.

I fall to see any basis for the high score on economics. True, employment went up by another million and a quarter jobs during the month of February — in spite of cold and snow. But this could hardly be attributed to anything else than the new wealth has already been lifted from them by Washington real estate operators and restaurateurs. But the fact is that government salaries in the \$40,000 to \$50,000 range are not common in Plains, or even in Atlanta. Mr. Carter is taking care of his political friends at the expense of the taxpayer in the old political manner. It is not done as crudely as in the days of Andy Jackson. But it is the spoils system just the same.

I suppose that all I am really saying is that Jimmy Carter is not Sir Galahad — which I should have known all along. The other side of the coin is that he seems to be playing politics successfully. His performance is popular. He is gaining in political strength, hence in potential ability to become a strong President.

But what an inadequate thing GNP is. America's GNP includes \$4.3 billion for "barber-shop, beauty parlor, and bath services"; \$24.7 billion for "alcoholic beverages"; \$78 billion for military expenses in 1973 (around \$100 billion now). These things don't add much to the quality of the average citizen's life.

The Overseas Development Council, a Washington-based nonprofit research organization, has devised what could be an enormously useful new standard. What is the percentage of literacy in a nation? What is its infant mortality?

What is its life expectancy? The council as-

signs the three figures equal weight. Then it averages them. The composite, that emerges

gives a rough idea of how much education the people are getting, how much sanitation, how much health care, and a variety of other "ba-

sic human needs."

The word "physical" is expressly put in the Physical Quality of Life Index. The index doesn't, and can't, tell artistic, democratic, or spiritual values. But it is vastly more illuminating in some respects than GNP.

For example, although oil-rich Kuwait has a per capita GNP of \$11,770, its quality of life index is only 76, while Sri Lanka, with \$130 GNP, has a PQI of 83 because political power is concentrated in the villages.

Five nations have a higher "Q" rating than the United States. America's higher GNP is not in itself a guarantee of good levels of literacy, life expectancy, and infant mortality. America's infant mortality per 1,000, for example, is distressingly high at 17, and there are 17 nations with a lower rate than this: the U.S.S.R. officially lists its rate at 13; Sweden is down to 9. (By contrast the Angola figure is